# The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXVIII

## The Return of the Caliphate to Baghdad

TRANSLATED BY FRANZ ROSENTHAL

The Return of the Caliphate
to Baghdad
Volume XXXVIII
Translated and Annotated by
Franz Rosenthal

The concluding pages of al-Ṭabarī's *History* cover the caliphates of al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī and the beginning of the reign of al-Muqtadir—altogether a period of 23 turbulent years in world history. Although al-Ṭabarī has woven skillful narratives and quoted important documents verbatim, much of the information consists of brief notes jotted down by an observant and well-placed contemporary who witnessed the events as they occurred. The reporting is thus both vivid and, within limits, historically reliable. Happenings at court, military activities on the northern and eastern frontiers of the empire, and the difficulties caused by the Qarmatian movement are all brought to life in this volume.

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# *THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ*

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

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## VOLUME XXXVIII

## *The Return of the Caliphate to Baghdad*

THE CALIPHATES OF AL-MUʿTAḌID, AL-MUKTAFĪ
AND AL-MUQTADIR

A.D. 892-915/A.H. 279-302

Bibliotheca Persica
edited by Ehsan Yar-Shater

# The History of al-Ṭabarī
*(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)*

VOL XXXVIII

## THE RETURN OF THE CALIPHATE TO BAGHDAD

Translated and annotated
by

*Franz Rosenthal*

YALE UNIVERSITY

State University of New York Press

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# Acknowledgements

In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

The General Editor wishes to thank sincerely also the participating scholars, who have made the realization of this project possible; the Board of Editors for their selfless assistance; Professor Franz Rosenthal for his many helpful suggestions in the formulation and application of the editorial policy; Professor Jacob Lassner for his painstaking and meticulous editing; and Dr. Susan Mango of the National Endowment for the Humanities for her genuine interest in the project and her advocacy of it.

# Preface

The History of Prophets and Kings (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839-923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work, and also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Each volume has an index of proper names. A general index volume will follow the publication of the translation volumes.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

# Contents



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*Considering the varied number of events mentioned under each year in this volume, the selection of subjects listed here under various years is, of necessity, somewhat arbitrary.

# Translator's Foreword

Ṭabarī was some fifty years old when al-Muʿtaḍid became caliph. He was well past seventy in the year his *History*, as we know it, was published. During the intervening years, he was a famous, if somewhat controversial, personality. Among the figures of his age, he had access to sources of information equal to anyone, except, perhaps, those who were directly connected with decision-making within the government. Most, if not all, the materials for the histories of al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Muktafī, and the early years of al-Muqtadir were collected by him about the time the reported events took place. His accounts are as authentic as one can expect from any pre-modern age.

Time and again, the author shows himself to be a true historian by recognizing the paramount importance of documents and the need to reproduce them exactly. His literary taste comes occasionally to the fore as in the anecdote of the woman in search of her son among the Qarmaṭians; it captures the flavor of the general reaction to the Qarmaṭian danger better than anything else would. On the whole, however, his presentation of historical material is concise. It consists mostly of short notes written down in contemporary language and without editorial comment. The scope of the information provided by Ṭabarī for this period is thus limited, but its quality is unique.

The events chronicled in this volume concern the reigns of the father and older brother of the teenage youth during whose reign Ṭabarī published his work. Many of the men involved in the events, or members of their families, were still alive and active and no doubt concerned with their reputations. Ṭabarī seems to be remarkably candid, but we also encounter some obvious reticence dictated by prudence. His historical judgement may not always have been colored merely by his closeness to events. We also do not know how much he simply omitted, when he put together his notes, in order to avoid giving offense or risking misinterpretation.

The long poem of Ibn al-Muʿtazz on the reign of his cousin al-Muʿtaḍid is even closer to the sources and events than Ṭabarī's

work. Its poetical form naturally determined the character, and limited the extent, of the information it conveys. The great historical work of ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, who died only a few years after Ṭabarī,[1] is not preserved. What little we know of it is based on sparse quotations in later authors (which have yet to be collected). A biography of al-Muʿtaḍid transmitted in the family of Thābit b. Qurrah is also lost.[2] Most of the other historians writing on the events of al-Muʿtaḍid's reign appear later in the tenth century. Among the earliest is Masʿūdī who used sources other than those of Ṭabarī. But the bulk of actual information on al-Muʿtaḍid's caliphate was derived by some tenth-century historians and practically all those later authors who wrote works on general history from Ṭabarī. The sketchy picture he presents can, however, be supplemented by a large amount of enormously valuable information to be found in other kinds of sources. The situation is substantially the same with respect to the reign of al-Muktafī. Beginning with the caliphate of al-Muqtadir, the number of widely available, relevant historical sources greatly increased, as was noted already by Masʿūdī[3].

The publication history of Ṭabarī's work is significant for understanding the section translated here. Until the year 294(906-7), the author lectured on the material that ultimately became the sections on Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid history. He discontinued teaching and lecturing on this material when al-Muqtadir became caliph, but he seemingly worked on it for its eventual inclusion in the work now before us.[4] Further data available to us are essentially as follows:

According to al-Farghānī [b. 282(895-6), d. 362(972-3], Ṭabarī's work ended with the year 302. It was finished on Wednesday, Rabīʿ II 26, 303 (Wednesday, November 8, 915).[5] Thus, on that date, a complete copy, or copies, of it were ready for publication. We do not know the publication procedure that was adopted in this particular case. Following known precedents, we can assume that a large number of scribes, both private entrepreneurs and library

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[1] See *EI*[2], s. v. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr.
[2] See Rosenthal, "From Arabic Books and Manuscripts IV," 138.
[3] *Murūj*, VIII, 249, ed. Pellat, V, 193 f.
[4] See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, VI, 444f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 70.
[5] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, VI, 426, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 44.

employees, prepared a number of copies simultaneously for sale and distribution, as ordered by interested private and public figures and, perhaps, booksellers. Al-Farghānī, it may be noted, was the author of a continuation of Ṭabarī's work.[6] More important in this connection, he also transmitted a recension of the text.[7] It remains to be investigated whether his recension is the one presented by most of the manuscripts available to us, as seems likely.

Still from the tenth century, but from close to its end, we have the information to be found in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm. According to him, Ṭabarī's dictation of the *History* stopped in 302.[8]

Our next source is over two centuries later and thus has hardly more authority than the preserved manuscripts. Ibn al-Athīr [555-630(1160-1233)] states that Ṭabarī's work ends in 302, but that in some manuscripts he had found it continuing to the following year. However, this continuation, Ibn al-Athīr informs us, was said to be an addition not belonging to the work (and thus not originating with Ṭabarī).[9]

Ibn al-Athīr's somewhat younger contemporary, (Ibn) al-Qifṭī [568-646(1172-1248)], speaks of the year 309 as the final year of the *History*.[10] Perhaps this should not simply be discounted as a mere slip of the pen or as speculation based upon the fact that Ṭabarī's death took place in 310. It may indicate that al-Qifṭī had a recension at his disposal with additions down to the year 309.[11]

All the manuscripts consulted (see below) conclude with the year 302. Strangely enough, Karatay's catalogue of the manuscripts in the Topkapısarayı Library in Istanbul, no. 5735, indicates that the manuscript described (Revan Köşk 1555=our Ms. R) contained events from 255 to 298. This is not correct. Ms. R continues through the year 302. I have no explanation for the statement in the catalogue.

Among the historians who wrote during the first century after Ṭabarī's death, ʿArīb used the *History* faithfully to the year 299,

[6] See Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*², 82.

[7] As stated in the beginning of Ms. Topkapısarayı Ahmet III 2929/1. See Ibrāhīm's Cairo edition of Ṭabarī, I, Introduction, 31.

[8] *Fihrist*, 234, ll. 24 f.

[9] See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 68.

[10] See al-Qifṭī, 110f., translated in Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*², 81-3.

[11] See below, xvii f., on the addition concerning the death of al-Ḥallāj.

but the text at his disposal does not seem to extend beyond that date. Hamadhānī's continuation of Ṭabarī shows no clear evidence that he was familiar with the text beyond 295. This is somewhat surprising, since some of the information from those years might have greatly appealed to him. Similarly, Miskawayh abruptly discontinues quoting from Ṭabarī beginning with the reign of al-Muqtadir, although he cites him consistently and almost exclusively up to that point. He may have felt that the more substantial sources at his disposal from the year 295 on deserved to be followed as exclusively as Ṭabarī was followed for earlier years. Balʿamī's Persian translation has been said to stop with the year 295,[12] but it is not certain that the preserved translation allows any conclusion as to the breakoff date for the manuscripts of the *History* available to him; further study of Balʿamī's work is called for. The twelfth-century Ibn al-Jawzī was familiar with Ṭabarī's work down to the year 300, and possibly to 301,[13], as we might expect. But it may be noted that his first quotation from the history of Thābit b. Sinān concerns the year 296,[14] and that Ṭabarī no longer appears to have been an important source for him regarding events of 295 and later.

The evidence cited allows of no certain conclusions. It may be that there existed recensions of Ṭabarī's work that ended before the year 302. On the other hand, recensions that included additions beyond the year 302 may have also circulated. The problem of such additions deserves special attention.[15] At the time his work was published Ṭabarī may have looked forward to making further additions, as authors often do. The colophon of Ms. B(erlin),[16] which is in a poor state of preservation, somehow seems to indicate this intention. It apparently refers to "later events (*muta'akhkhir*)" and concludes with "if God postpones the final term (death)." However, *muta'akhkhir* is likely to be a corruption of *min khabar*, and the context of the statement

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[12] See Massignon, *Passion*², IV, 13 n. 1.

[13] *Muntaẓam*, VI, 115.

[14] *Muntaẓam*, VI, 80. Thābit's work is, in fact, said to have started with the reign of al-Muqtadir, see Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, X, 463.

[15] See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, XVf.

[16] Ms. C(onstantinople, Köprülü, I, 1042) breaks off shortly before the end of the work and thus does not contain the colophon.

referring to continued life is doubtful. It does not appear in R which has preserved what seems to be the full text of the badly mutilated version in B. The colophon in R reads:

> "Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī says: All the information mentioned by us with an indication of transmission and oral sources which we have included in this book—I mean the book entitled "A Short History of the Messengers, Kings, and Caliphs"—to this very day, month, and year is as we have included it in the book. All the information we have left without mentioning transmission and referring to a transmission [its transmitters?] belongs to information which is generally and widely known through continuous transmission and is generally familiar to those privy to it. You all should know this! (... *mā ḍammannā hādhā al-kitāb-a'nī al-kitāb al-musammā Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk wa-al-khulafā'-ilā ḥaythu intahaynā ilayhi min yawminā min shahrinā min sanatinā hādhihī mimmā kāna fīhi min khabar dhakarnāhu bi-riwāyah wa-samā' fa-huwa 'alā mā ḍammannā al-kitāb wa-mā kāna min dhālika mimmā akhlalnā min dhikr al-riwāyah wa-nisbatihī ilā riwāyah* [*read: ruwātihī?*] *fa-huwa min al-khabar al-mustafīḍ al-muntashir alladhī tawātarat bihī al-akhbār wa-istafāḍat bihī 'inda ahlihī fa-i'lamū dhālika*).

Ṭabarī thus alerts the reader that where the source situation is explained, the source in question was faithfully followed by him. The lack of any such indication of sources, on the other hand, means that reference is made to events generally known, and in these cases, the phrasing is apparently his own. Nothing is said here about future additions. It is, however, likely that he continued taking notes and including them in his personal copy. From there, they found their way to the copyists who, by using them and other minor variations in the text, created different "recensions" or, in modern terms, successive editions slightly divergent from each other but all, in some way, having the approval of the author.

The prime example of an addition beyond the year 302 is the brief reference to the death of al-Ḥallāj which occurred in the year preceding Ṭabarī's death. The reference appears in only one

manuscript *sub anno* 301.[17] Its terseness and patent lack of sympathy with the great mystic gives the impression of its coming from the hand of Ṭabarī. Of course, it cannot be ruled out entirely that someone else might have inserted it in a copy he possessed about the time the event took place. But in the absence of any indication to this effect, the preferred assumption is that Ṭabarī himself was the author of the account.

Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī concludes his quotation of passages from Ṭabarī with an item dated 305.[18] It describes the discovery of a vault at the Wall of Marw. That vault contained baskets with a thousand heads, each of which had in its ear a label giving the name of the individual.[19] Ḥamzah's story corresponds to a report by ʿArīb given in connection with the year 304(916-7).[20] The differences are, however, rather considerable and cannot be explained by the fact that the Ṭabarī quotations of Ḥamzah are usually quite free. It seems that Ḥamzah and ʿArīb used different sources. In ʿArīb's case it is unlikely that his source was Ṭabarī; for if this were so, we would be confronted with the possibility that ʿArīb's information for the years 300 to 309 may include more quotations from Ṭabarī, and this we are not prepared to concede. Ḥamzah, on the other hand, may in fact have found the information in the Ṭabarī recension used by him; yet, it is also possible that he followed some other source and failed to indicate it.

The existence of various "recensions" signalized by differences in the available manuscripts suggests that additions to and divergences from Ṭabarī's work found in later authors who used it extensively often go back to the manuscript tradition of the *History*. Obviously, omissions in otherwise literal reproductions of Ṭabarī's text do not reflect in any way an original state. In some cases, it can be argued that the additions of a later author who depended heavily on Ṭabarī were not derived from the latter's work. A major example of this is Miskawayh's report on Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī's message to al-Muʿtaḍid. The arguments that Miskawayh could

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[17] See below, n. 952.

[18] *Annales*, I, 192.

[19] For the custom of labeling an object by means of a piece of paper affixed to the ear, see text above, III, 1348.

[20] ʿArīb, 62f.

not have derived it from Ṭabarī are strong.[21] Still, I am not fully convinced that this important item escaped Ṭabarī's attention altogether and that it did not somehow find its way in some form into his work. It must be admitted, though, that the only other addition in Miskawayh, a lengthy story illustrating al-Muʿtaḍid's fairness,[22] is very unlikely to go back to Ṭabarī. Some of the additional information found in later authors that appears to be of Ṭabarīan origin has been referred to in the notes accompanying the translation. No attempt has been made, however, to speculate about everything that could possibly be derived from the *History*. Given the nature of the evidence, much of this sort of material is highly problematic.

For the concluding portion of the work that is the subject of translation here, only two manuscripts were available to the editor of the Leiden text. In the tenth volume of his edition published in Cairo (1969), Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm reproduced the Leiden text basically unchanged, as Ibrāhīm himself stated in his foreword. The indispensable critical apparatus of the Leiden edition was discarded by him, to the extent that he failed to note that a few words in the Leiden text had no manuscript authority but were taken from the quotation in a later author.[23] Ibrāhīm nevertheless deserves our special gratitude for adding the pagination of the Leiden edition in the margin, something he unfortunately failed to do when he republished the texts of ʿArīb, Hamadhānī, and Ṭabarī's *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* as Volume XI of his Ṭabarī text.[24] A third printing of Volume X, which appeared in 1977, used no new manuscript material.

The two manuscripts used in the Leiden edition are, moreover, not entirely complete. Thus, C lacks one entire folio that belonged between folios 337 and 338 of the manuscript.[25] The insufficiency of the manuscript material of the edition made it advisable to collate Ms. R of the Topkapısarayı. The well-tested kindness and courage of the Turkish librarians enabled me to accomplish this

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21 See below, n. 444.
22 See Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 19-23, *sub anno* 289.
23 See below, n. 774.
24 Published in Cairo, 1977.
25 See text below, 95 (l. 20)-104 (l. 22).

task during a brief stay in Istanbul in June of 1981. A little time was left over for a quick look at Ms. C in the Köprülü Library, I, 1042. But I have had no microfilm to do the additional checking which is necessary.

A microfilm of Ms. B (Mq 667, Catalogue Ahlwardt 9422) was kindly provided for me by Dr. D. George and the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. It has enabled me to check a few passages in the Leiden edition where I thought that such checking might be well advised. The collation of Ms. B with the printed text has increased my admiration for the accuracy and acumen of the editor and the fine work done by the printer. The passages which contain errors with respect to the indication of the manuscript situation are astonishingly few, and they are very minor. Only a few had to be indicated in the notes to the translation.

While Ms. R has its measure of mistakes, it enlarges our knowledge of Ṭabarī's work. R appears to be closer to B than to C, allowing the conclusion that wherever R and C agree against B, RC may have preserved the more original wording. However, the situation is by no means clear-cut. The three manuscripts may have equally acceptable readings as the result of author's variants.

R has a number of additions not to be found in C and B, and thus they are not contained in the Leiden text. These additions appear to go back to Ṭabarī, although in most cases proof either positive or negative is unavailable. As far as I can see, no decisive clues can be derived from internal evidence. Alternative statements and repetitiveness are no proof against Ṭabarīan origin. Positive evidence for it is provided by additions of the *homoioteleuton* variety which mend scribal omissions and thus restore the more original text. Positive evidence is also provided by quotations in later authors, some of which support additions and textual variants found in R. This makes it virtually certain that the material goes back to some recension of Ṭabarī's text. Altogether, then, at the present stage of our knowledge, we are justified in considering additions that occur in any one of the manuscripts to be part of his work.

A new scholarly edition of the *History* is certainly needed, but, regrettably, none may be published soon. Therefore, it has been advisable, and even necessary, to indicate some of the textual information found in R. This has been done as unobtrusively as

possible. Words and passages enclosed by asterisks indicate additions; those enclosed in raised half square brackets indicate omissions. Not infrequently, additions and omissions in R agree with what is found in C; here the apparatus of the Leiden edition must be consulted. References to minor variations are usually meant to call attention to readings that may go back to a recension of the *History* or exhibit a preferable text. Exhaustiveness and consistency have not been attempted, although even very small and seemingly insignificant variants may illuminate the history of Ṭabarī's text and its historical importance.

The translation and annotation procedure followed in this volume needs little comment. Brackets to mark names and nouns supplied for Arabic pronouns have been avoided for the most part. The Baghdad-centrism of the work has often called for the addition of "Baghdad" where the word itself is not expressly mentioned in the text. No attention has been paid to the various ways in which dates are expressed in the Arabic text. They have been rendered in a uniform manner and occasionally expanded by the addition of the year. One-day discrepancies in the indicated day of the week have been left unchanged.[26] All this has been done in order to facilitate the task of the historian who may peruse these pages.

An historical commentary on subjects and events has not been attempted because there is no room for it in this volume. Every one of Ṭabarī's brief items would require a lengthy discussion in order to place it in even the most rudimentary historical context. The available standard works have been preferred for reference. Those dealing specifically with the period treated here have not been referred to systematically on each occasion. This applies, for instance, to Canard on the Byzantines (also Vasiliev, Vol. II) and the Ḥamdānids, and to Massignon and his struggle to unravel the prevailing religious situation. Similarly, one should often refer to Bowen, who attempts to encompass the political scene in Baghdad during all these years in a work which remains entertaining and worth reading, and to Glagow's careful biography of al-Muʿtaḍid

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[26] See below, n. 979, for an example of the fact that dates given in one form were at times converted into another. This could easily lead to mistakes, especially in connection with dates referring to the remaining nights of months having twenty-nine days.

in which he discusses all the data provided by Ṭabarī and parallel sources, and so on.

A brief identification has been provided in the notes for each individual at his first mention in this volume. With a very few exceptions for the most prominent personalities, such as caliphs, this has been done systematically and, alas, has required some rather superfluous notes. I have not, however, succeeded in identifying every single individual mentioned in the text. The names of tribes have been left unannotated as a rule. The names of places have rarely required annotation, the principal exceptions being the names of towns in Byzantine territory and the stations of the Mecca Road. References to earlier passages in the *History* are meant to alert the reader to the likelihood that a fuller annotation may be found in connection with the translation of those passages.

In addition to the librarians in Istanbul and Berlin, I am obliged to Professor E. Birnbaum of the University of Toronto for answering my questions concerning problematic proper names suspected by me to be of Turkish origin, to Professor E. Yar-Shater of Columbia University for checking the *Ta'rīkh-e Sīstān*, not available to me, and to Professor J. Lassner of Wayne State University for his painstaking editing of my manuscript. I am very grateful to all of them, as I am to the students in my Arabic Seminar with whom I read part of the text translated here during the academic year 1978-79.

# Sigla

B Ms. Berlin Mq 677

C Ms. Köprülü I, 1042

R Ms. Topkapısarayı, Revan Köşk 1555

*...* Additions in R

⌈....⌉ Omissions in R

# The Caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid

In the morning following this night [Monday, Rajab 19, 279 (Monday, October 16, 892, to Tuesday, October 17)], the oath of allegiance as caliph was given to Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh. Al-Muʿtaḍid then appointed his page Badr as chief of police,[1] ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb as wazīr,[2] and Muḥammad b. al-Shāh b. Mīkāl as chief of the guard.[3] He also appointed Ṣāliḥ, who was known as (Ṣāliḥ) al-Amīn, as chief chamberlain (*ḥājib*) for both the inner circle of notables (*khāṣṣah*) and the commoners (*ʿāmmah*).[4] Ṣāliḥ took the place of Khafīf al-Samarqandī.[5]

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1 Upon his elevation to the caliphate, the new Caliph immediately filled the positions most important for the safe assumption of his duties with old friends. This was rarely, if ever, done on the spur of the moment. In one of the versions of al-Muʿtaḍid's dream reported *sub anno* 282 (see below, n. 137), we are told that the dream made him so confident of becoming caliph soon that he drew up a list of his first appointees. Only the names of Badr and ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān are mentioned there. Badr was listed as the future chamberlain, the more prestigious office, but, as it turned out, the new caliph felt that he needed a man with military experience whom he trusted completely in the office of Chief of Security. See also text above, III, 2122f. However, Badr remained at the top of the list, regardless of the normal ranking of his office. On Badr, who was killed shortly after al-Muʿtaḍid's death, see text below, 2209ff., and *EI*[2] *Suppl.*, s. v. Badr.

2 On ʿUbaydallāh [d. 288 (April 903)], see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 326-45.

3 There seems to be no further mention of him. His father, however, was an important officer, first mentioned in the text above, III, 1532.

4 The meanings of *khāṣṣah* and *ʿāmmah* are briefly discussed in Mottahedeh, *Loyalty*, 115. There seems to be no information on Ṣāliḥ al-Amīn beyond what is mentioned here.

5 He may be identical with the Khafīf mentioned above. See text, III, 1953. He was close to al-Muʿtaḍid and appears occasionally as an informant on events during his reign. See, for instance, Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, III, 260; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 134f.; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn*, I, 231. On his relations with the two Ibn al-Furāts, see Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, index.

On Shaʿbān 2, 279 (October 28, 892), the emissary of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār[6] came to al-Muʿtaḍid bearing gifts[7] and requested that ʿAmr be appointed governor of Khurāsān. Al-Muʿtaḍid sent ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī[8] back with the emissary, carrying robes of honor and a standard for ʿAmr signifying his (new) rank as governor of Khurāsān. They reached ʿAmr in Ramaḍān 279 (November 25-December 24, 892). The robes of honor were bestowed upon him, and the standard was exhibited in the courtyard of his house for three days.

In this year, the report of the death of Naṣr b. Aḥmad reached Baghdad. Naṣr's brother, Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, took charge of his administrative functions in Transoxania.[9]

On Tuesday, Shawwāl 3, 279 (Wednesday, December 27, 892), al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh, who was known as Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ,[10] arrived from Egypt as the emissary of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.[11] He brought gifts among which were:

Twenty loads of gold specie on mules

Ten eunuchs

Two boxes containing textiles with ornamental borders (*ṭirāz*)[12]

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[6] For the Ṣaffārids, see the brief entry in Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, 103-6.

[7] The gifts offered on this occasion are listed in Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 41. Further gifts from ʿAmr to al-Muʿtaḍid in the years 280, 281, 283, and 286 are listed in *Dhakhā'ir*, 39-45.

[8] One of the most important figures of his time, ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī died as governor of Egypt in the spring of 297 (910). See ʿArīb, 33f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 297; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 145ff. The origin of his *nisbah*, meaning "New Town" in Persian, appears undetermined; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, has no further information on its likely origin.

[9] The Sāmānid brothers Naṣr and Ismāʿīl ruled, respectively, from 864 to 892 and from 892 to 907.

[10] See *EI²*, s.v. Ibn al-Djaṣṣāṣ. His career as a selfmade, enormously wealthy jeweler and wit with powerful connections fascinated his contemporaries so that he is much discussed by historians and littérateurs.

[11] See *EI²*, s. v. Khumārawayh.

[12] One of the glories of Muslim craftsmanship, usually produced in government factories. R has *ṭarā'if* "curios," and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 138, l. 13, found the same reading in the manuscript he used. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 117f., ed. Pellat, V, 139, does not have a detailed list of gifts but refers to *ṭirāz*. Both readings are possible, but *ṭirāz* seems slightly preferable. Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 41, speaks of "two boxes filled with fine material (*diqq*)."

Twenty // men upon twenty noble camels, with saddles richly ornamented with silver, carrying silver lances and wearing brocade gowns and ornamented belts [III,2134]
Seventeen horses with saddles and bridles, five decorated with gold, and the rest with silver
Thirty-seven horses with saddle cloths ornamented with borders of different colors[13]
Five mules with saddles and bridles
A giraffe[14]

Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ went to al-Muʿtaḍid who bestowed robes of honor upon him and upon seven individuals with him. The purpose of his trip was to arrange a marriage between the daughter of Khumārawayh and al-Muʿtaḍid's son ʿAlī.[15] However, al-Muʿtaḍid said that he himself would marry her, and so he did.[16]

In this year, word reached Baghdad that Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh[17] had seized the fortress of Mārdīn from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundāj.[18]

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13 See Ṭabari, *Introductio etc.*, CCCXVIII; Busse, "Hofbudget," 24, n. 104.

14 The list appears in Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 41, in substantially the same form, with slight differences mainly in the wording. The fourth item appears as "twenty ornamented donkeys," and the giraffe is omitted, probably merely by oversight; giraffes were not uncommon in gifts from Africa. It would be difficult to assume that Ibn al-Zubayr used Ṭabarī and changed the wording arbitrarily. Ibn al-Zubayr has many other detailed reports on gifts not found in Ṭabarī. It is also unlikely that Ibn al-Zubayr used an intermediary that somehow depended on Ṭabarī. In all likelihood both Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Zubayr (or his source) depended upon a common source, possibly an original document, and Ṭabarī may have preserved the more accurate text. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 138, quotes Ṭabarī.

15 It can be assumed that Khumārawayh's daughter Qaṭr al-Nadā "Dewdrop" was very young when the match with the prince, the future Caliph al-Muktafī, was proposed. ʿAlī was only about fifteen years old then, and, since her father was born in 250 (864), she cannot have been older and was probably somewhat younger. She died on Rajab 7 (9), 287 [July 8 (10), 900], see text below, 2195; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 26; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 250.

16 The way in which al-Muʿtaḍid handled the dynastic marriage struck historians as noteworthy and, probably, as a bit peculiar. It was rarely left unreported. See also Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, II, 315; Glagow, 63-67. For the brideprice paid by al-Muʿtaḍid to Khumārawayh, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 118f.; ed. Pellat, V, 139.

17 See *EI*[2], s. v. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh. He died in 285 (898), see text below, 2185. The name of his father al-Shaykh was ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

18 Or Ibn Kundājīq, d. 304 (916-17). See ʿArīb, 63f.; *Eclipse*, I, 33 (n. 1). For his father, see text above, III, 1877, 2112.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir[19] died on Wednesday, Shawwāl 16 or 17, 279 (Tuesday or Wednesday, January 9 or 10, 893). He had been in charge of the Office of Estates.[20] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd[21] was appointed in his place.

In this year, Rāshid, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq,[22] was confirmed as governor of al-Dīnawar. Robes of honor were bestowed upon him on Saturday, Shawwāl 20,[23] 279 (Saturday, January 13, 893). Then, on Thursday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 10, 279 (Thursday, February 1, 893), Rāshid left to assume his administrative duties.

On the Day of Slaughtering (Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10), 279 (March 3, 893),[24] al-Muʿtaḍid, accompanied by the officers and troops, rode to the oratory he had chosen for himself near the Ḥasanī Palace[25] in order to lead the public prayer. He reportedly said "God is Great (*Allāhu Akbar*)" six times during the first *rakʿah*, and once
[2135] during the second.[26] // He then ascended the pulpit, but his sermon was inaudible. The Old Oratory was left vacant and was no longer used for prayer.[27]

In this year, a dispatch was sent to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf,[28] ordering him into combat against Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah,[29]

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19 See text above, III, 1384; *EI*², s. v. Ibn al-Mudabbir.

20 The *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ* was the government department charged with the administration of the caliphal landholdings.

21 D. 287 (900), see text below, 2192. See also n. 423.

22 D. 280 (893), see text below, 2139. See also text above, III, 1988; Busse, "Hofbudget," 18, n. 60.

23 According to the edition, the date was Shawwāl 22, which was a Monday. Thus "seven" must be corrected to "nine," i. e. Shawwāl 20.

24 R had merely Dhū al-Ḥijjah, but it is clear that the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* festival is meant. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 117, ed. Pellat, V, 139, the incident occurred on the day of the breaking of the fast, that is, the day of the minor *ʿīd*, Monday, Shawwāl 1, 279 (Monday, December 25, 892). The correct indication of the day of the week may favor this earlier date.

25 See Lassner, *Topography*, 84f., 97, 265f.

26 The number and sequence of *takbīrāt* during the prayer on the festival could hold political significance, as is indicated above, II, 1955f. This may also be the case here.

27 The active is not excluded: "no longer used by the Caliph." If the Old Oratory was no longer used, it nevertheless remained a landmark on the East Side of Baghdad, see text below, 2244.

28 Aḥmad died the following year. See text below, 2137; also above, III, 1929; Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 311ff.; Zambaur, 199.

29 Rāfiʿ was killed in 283, See text below, 2160; also above, III, 2039.

who was in al-Rayy. Aḥmad advanced against him, and they met in battle on Thursday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 23, 279 (Wednesday, February 14, 893). Rāfiʿ was routed and left al-Rayy, whereupon Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz entered the city.[30]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī.[31] It was his last pilgrimage. He had led the pilgrimage sixteen times, from 264 (878) to this year.

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[30] See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 139f., ed. Pellat, V, 147f.

[31] Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā [who led the pilgrimage in 182 (799)] b. ʿĪsā [d. 167 (783-84)] b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was a great-great-grandson of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, the nephew of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IX, 74, ed. Pellat, V, 299, Hārūn led the pilgrimage fifteen consecutive times, the last time in 278; in 279, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā led the pilgrimage for the first of nine times ending in 287. Masʿūdī appears to be in error. For Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, see below, n. 357. Note that Ṭabarī does not report the leader of the pilgrimage for 281, 282, and 283; he lists Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh for the years 284-87. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 147, l. 20, and 151, l. 13, lists Muḥammad b. Hārūn (see below, n. 71) as the leader of the pilgrimage in 281 and 282 but, like Ṭabarī, gives no name for 283.

# The Events of the Year 280

## (MARCH 23, 893 - MARCH 12, 894)

One of the events was al-Muʿtaḍid's seizure of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muhtadī[32] and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who was known as Shaylamah.[33] This Shaylamah had stayed with the master of the Zanj[34] until his last days. He then joined al-Muwaffaq under a guarantee of safe-conduct and subsequently received his protection. Al-Muʿtaḍid seized the two men because Shaylamah was denounced to him by one of those who had obtained a guarantee of safe-conduct. The informer told the Caliph that Shaylamah was propagandizing for a person of unknown name and that he had already sought to corrupt a number of military men and others. A pharmacist and a nephew of Shaylamah from al-Madīnah were seized with him. Al-Muʿtaḍid tried to make Shaylamah confess, but he admitted
[2136] nothing. When asked by al-Muʿtaḍid // about the man for whom he was propagandizing, he again admitted nothing but said, "If he were underneath my feet, I would not lift them, and if you were to make minced meat[35] out of me, I would not tell

32 The name of the ʿAbbāsid prince is also transmitted as ʿUbaydallāh, but nothing further, it seems, is known about him. An Abū al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Muhtadī appears in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 194, 348. See also below, n. 39.

33 Masʿūdī states expressly that he was a nephew of the great wazīr al-Faḍl b. Sahl [d. 202 (818)]. Al-Faḍl's brother al-Ḥasan b. Sahl died in the early summer of 235 (850). For Shaylamah at al-Muwaffaq's court, see Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, ed. I. al-Kaylānī, III,2, 505 (Damascus, n. d.). No information is available on the pharmacist and Shaylamah's nephew.

34 The leader of the Zanj revolt, which lasted fourteen years, did not survive his defeat in August 883. See text above, III, 2098. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 140, ed. Pellat, V, 148; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 127, Shaylamah wrote a biography of the Zanj leader.

35 R: *kardanāj*, the expected spelling with final *j*. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, explains *gardanā, gardanāj* as meat boiled and roasted (with spices). The translation "minced meat" was chosen for its idiomatic flavor.

you about him." At this, al-Muʿtaḍid gave orders to make a fire. Shaylamah was tied upon a wooden tent plank and rotated over the fire till his skin peeled. He was then decapitated, and his corpse was hung at the Lower Bridge on the West Side.[36] Ibn al-Muḥtadī was detained until his innocence was ascertained, whereupon he was released. The hanging of Shaylamah took place on al-Muḥarram 9,[37] 280 (March 31, 893).

Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly said to Shaylamah, "I have heard that you are propagandizing for Ibn al-Muhtadī." Shaylamah replied, "The real story is different. I am friendly to the cause of the family of the son of Abū Ṭālib."[38] Al-Muʿtaḍid had tried to make his nephew confess, and he did. When he told Shaylamah that his nephew had confessed, he replied, "He is a mere lad who said what he did because he is afraid of being killed. His statement is unacceptable." After a long time, his nephew and the pharmacist were released.[39]

On Sunday, Ṣafar 1, 280 (Sunday, April 22, 893), al-Muʿtaḍid marched from Baghdad against the Banū Shaybān. He encamped at the Garden (*Bustān*) of Bishr b. Hārūn,[40] and then left on Wednesday, having appointed his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) Ṣāliḥ al-Amīn to take his place in the caliphal palace and in the city.

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36 See Lassner, *Topography*, 280.

37 Text: "seven," but both R and B seem to have "nine." The reading of C remains to be checked.

38 Apparently, any descendant of Abū Ṭālib through his most famous son, ʿAlī, could be meant.

39 Ṭabarī combines two reports which most likely came to him from different sources. Other reports, not depending on Ṭabarī, appear in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 140-42, ed. Pellat, V, 148f., and Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 144ff. See also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 127.

Tanūkhī speaks of an unnamed descendant of al-Wāthiq (the father of al-Muhtadī) who aspired to the caliphate and made Shaylamah his wazīr. In Shaylamah's house, lists of names of the co-conspirators were discovered, and the prince fled. Shaylamah's denial that an ʿAbbāsid prince was involved, and his insistence that it was an ʿAlid, may have been a coverup for a dynastic intrigue. In view of Shaylamah's antecedents this may seem unlikely, but we should be aware that contemporaries, like modern scholars, were always inclined to suspect sectarian motives.

40 The precise location of the Garden of Bishr b. Hārūn is not known. It was evidently a large park suitable as a staging area for military expeditions. It is not impossible that Bishr b. Hārūn was the brother of Jābir and Ibrāhīm, mentioned as Christian secretaries of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir; see text above, III, 1511, 1524.

Al-Muʿtaḍid marched toward the place in the Jazīrah that the Shaybān had chosen as a stronghold. When they heard that he was marching against them, they gathered their possessions and families in one place. A letter from al-Muʿtaḍid then reached Baghdad stating that he had marched at night from al-Sinn[41] to engage the Arab tribesmen and that he had attacked them. He had killed a great number of them, and a good many[42] of them
[2137] had drowned in the two Zābs. He had seized // women and children, and the soldiers had gained more booty than they could carry. Moreover, so many small cattle and camels of the Shaybān had fallen into their hands that a sheep sold for (only) a dirham and a camel for five dirhams.

Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered their women and children guarded until they could be sent down to Baghdad. He then went to Mosul and from there to Balad,[43] before he returned to Baghdad. The Shaybān came to meet him and asked his pardon, and they gave him numerous hostages. He reportedly accepted five hundred of their men.

When al-Muʿtaḍid was on his way back to Madīnat al-Salām,[44] Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh[45] joined him, bringing along the amount of money which he had received for the release of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh—money which the latter had taken from Isḥāq b. Kundāj. He also brought presents, horses, and mules. This was on Wednesday, Rabīʿ II 7,[46] 280 (Wednesday, June 26, 893).

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[41] At the confluence of the Lesser Zāb and the Tigris. Ibn al-Athīr has "at," instead of "from." Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 142f., ed. Pellat, V, 149, locates the battle at Wādī al-Dhi'āb, for which see text below, 2293.

[42] R omits *kathīr*.

[43] North of Mosul on the Tigris.

[44] By this time, Madīnat al-Salām was fully synonymous with Baghdad, but the expression has been retained here wherever it occurs.

[45] See text above, III, 1927. Ibn Abī al-Aṣbagh was in charge of the Office of Taxation. According to Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 50, 87, 152, he was Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh. His identification with Abū ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Badr b. al-Aṣbagh, assumed by the editor of Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, VIII, 116 (see the translation of Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, 54), appears to be unfounded. Badr b. al-Aṣbagh is mentioned in the text above, III, 1137, *sub anno* 250 (864), as the chief tax official in al-Kūfah. For Isḥāq b. Kundāj, see above, n. 18.

[46] On the page following.

In Rabīʿ I (May 21-June 19, 893),[47] word reached Baghdad that Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj[48] had conquered al-Marāghah after a difficult siege and a fierce battle between himself and the inhabitants of the city. He had granted safe-conduct to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn *al-Hamadhānī*[49] and his men but then seized him. He put him in fetters and imprisoned him. He made him confess where all his property was, then killed him. *He was buried in Zanjān.*

In Rabīʿ II, 280 (June 20-July 18,893),[50] word concerning the death of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf reached Baghdad. His death had occurred at the end of Rabīʿ I. The troops now demanded their allotments and looted the residence of Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Munshi'.[51] Two (other) sons of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿUmar and Bakr,[52] competed for the position of leadership. ʿUmar took control of the administration, although al-Muʿtaḍid had not sent him a letter of appointment as governor.// [2138]

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46 Here, and in the following two items, there seems to be some confusion as to whether it was Rabīʿ I or Rabīʿ II. The confusion probably goes back to Ṭabarī himself. Rabīʿ I 7 (as in Ṭabarī) fell upon a Monday and is thus ruled out. R, however, reads Rabīʿ I 9 (May 29), which was indeed a Wednesday (as was Rabīʿ II 7). Since the date appears to refer to the time when al-Muʿtaḍid was on his way back to Baghdad (which Ṭabarī reports as having taken place in Rabīʿ II), the later date seems preferable. The expedition presumably lasted longer than just one month. If the reference to Rabīʿ I in the following item (see below, n. 47) is correct, it merely means that the author resumed the chronological sequence after reporting events connected with al-Muʿtaḍid's campaign.

47 RB: Rabīʿ II.

48 See text above, III, 1937. His surname was Afshīn. He died in 288 (901), as reported below, 2202f. For his brother Yūsuf, see below, n. 57; for his son Dēwdād, see below, n. 471.

49 He is also mentioned by Masʿūdī in connection with this episode, but there seems to be no more information on him. R: al-Hamdānī.

50 RBC: Rabīʿ I. Although this was no doubt found in the original, the later reference to the end of Rabīʿ I shows it to be wrong.

51 *Al-Munshi'* may indicate that he was a draftsman of documents, but information on him appears to be lacking.

52 The rivalry of ʿUmar and Bakr and the role of their brothers is the subject of attention in the following pages. On their celebrated grandfather Abū Dulaf, see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 632. On Bakr [d. 285 (898)] in his capacity as poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 633. I have no information on the date of ʿUmar's death. On Abū Dulaf and the family, see also *EI*[2], s. v. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Thawr[53] conquered ʿUmān and sent the heads of a number of its inhabitants to Baghdad.

Jaʿfar b. al-Muʿtamid[54] reportedly died on Sunday, Rabīʿ II 12, 280 (Sunday, July 1, 893). He had resided in the palace of al-Muʿtaḍid and had not left it or made any public appearances; on occasion, al-Muʿtaḍid used to invite him as a boon companion.[55]

In this (month),[56] al-Muʿtaḍid returned to Baghdad from his expedition against the Arab tribesmen.

In Jumādā II, 280 (August 18-September 15, 893), word reached Baghdad that ʿAmr b. al-Layth had entered Naysābūr in Jumādā I.

In this year, Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj[57] sent thirty-two Khārijites[58] from the Mosul Road to Baghdad. Twenty-five of them were decapitated and their corpses hung. Seven[59] were imprisoned in the New Prison.[60]

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[53] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 143, ed. Pellat, V, 149, has Aḥmad, apparently corrected in Pellat's edition to Muḥammad on the basis of Ṭabarī. Masʿūdī tells us that he marched from al-Baḥrayn against the Ibāḍī Khārijites whose Imām, al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, resided in Nazwā. However, T. Lewicki, in *EI²*, s.v. al-Ibāḍiyya (III, 652a), states that al-Ṣalt ruled until 273 (887); if this is correct, Masʿūdī's information on the Ibāḍī leadership in ʿUmān was out of date. No futher information on Ibn Thawr seems available.

[54] Al-Muʿtaḍid's cousin, Abū al-ʿAbbās Jaʿfar was appointed first successor, before al-Muʿtaḍid, and received the surname al-Mufawwiḍ (scil. *amrahū* rather than al-Mufawwaḍ *amruhū*) ilā Allāh in 278. He was deposed from this position on al-Muḥarram 22, 279 (April 24, 892), see text above, III, 2123, 2131.

[55] Of the known regular boon companions of al-Muʿtaḍid, only Ibn Ḥamdūn was mentioned by Ṭabarī (see below, n. 233). The historian had, of course, no particular interest in these aspects of al-Muʿtaḍid's life. He also tells us nothing about the Caliph's literary and scholarly interests. The reference here was intended to show al-Muʿtaḍid in a good light.

[56] The feminine pronoun refers here to the name of the month, and not to the year.

[57] See text above, III, 2107. He is repeatedly mentioned in ʿArīb, Hamadhānī, and Miskawayh (*Eclipse*, I 172ff.) down to the year 315 (927) in which he was killed.

[58] They may have been followers of the Khārijite Hārūn, mentioned *sub annis* 281 and 283.

[59] R and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 142, l. 20: "the rest of them."

[60] See Lassner, *Topography*, 70.

On Rajab 5, 280 (September 20, 893), Muḥammad b. Abbā[61] entered Ṭarsūs for the summer campaign on behalf of Khumārawayh. He was followed there by Badr al-Ḥammāmī,[62] and together with al-ʿUjayfī, the amīr of Ṭarsūs,[63] they raided as far as al-Balaqsūn.[64]

In this year, word reached Baghdad that Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad had raided the land of the Turks and reportedly conquered their capital.[65] He had captured their king and his wife Khātūn[66] as well as about ten thousand people, many of whom he killed. The booty included an uncounted number of horses. Upon division of the booty, every Muslim horseman received a thousand dirhams.[67] // [2139]

On Ramaḍān 28, 280 (December 11, 893), Rāshid, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq, died in al-Dīnawar. He was carried in a casket to Baghdad. *He had repented and recanted.*

On Shawwāl 13, 280 (December 26, 893), Masrūr al-Balkhī[68] died.

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61 Text: Aḥmad; R: Muḥammad. R thus makes the identification with Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Abbā virtually certain. Muḥammad b. Abbā enjoyed his greatest prominence during the reign of Hārūn b. Khumārawayh. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 251; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 99, 101 ff., 139. Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11, in his translation of the Ṭabarī passage, has "Muḥammad" without explanation, but see *Sources arabes*, 265, and Canard, in Vasiliev, II, 123.

62 The powerful Egyptian general who is often mentioned in the following pages and who died in 311 (923).

63 For Aḥmad b. Ṭughān al-ʿUjayfī, the military commander in Ṭarsūs, see text above, III, 2130, and below, n. 172.

64 Final n also appears in R. The apparatus of the Leiden edition also notes final *n* and suggests an identification with Telmissos, for which see Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Telmessos, and, for more recent efforts to identify the Carian and Lycian Telmessos, *Der Kleine Pauly*, V, 375f. Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11, appears to accept this identification. It is, however, extremely difficult to reconcile the Arabic consonants with Telmessos/n, and Ṭabarī does not give the slightest hint where the place might be located.

65 The capital of the Kharluq/Khaluq/Khallukh Turks, raided by the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl, was Ṭalas (Ṭarāz). See *EI*², s. v. Ḳarluḳ. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 144f., ed. Pellat, V, 150, has some more details on the episode.

66 Khātūn was a title, not a proper name.

67 Miskawayh: "a thousand dīnārs, or rather a thousand dirhams," see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVII. Although "dīnārs" is patently preposterous, the reading was no doubt found originally in Ṭabarī.

68 Masrūr al-Balkhī was one of the Turks who helped to make al-Muʿtamid caliph. See text above, III, 1820, etc.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 280 (February 11-March 12, 894), a letter reportedly reached Baghdad from Dabīl[69] with the information that a lunar eclipse had occurred on Shawwāl 14, 280 (December 27, 893). At the end of the night the moon had reappeared, but when the populace arose in the morning, it was dark, and the darkness continued. In the afternoon a heavy black wind began to blow. It lasted into the first third of the night. When that time had passed, there was an earthquake. In the morning the city had disappeared. Only a few of the houses had been spared—about a hundred. Up to the time the letter was written, the people of Dabīl had buried thirty thousand dead recovered from the ruins. Following the destruction, they suffered five (additional) earthquakes.[70] As reported by some(one) of them, the dead recovered from the ruins totaled one hundred and fifty thousand.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hārūn, who was known as Ibn Turunjah.[71]

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[69] For Dvin (Dabīl), the capital of Armenia, see *EI²*, s. v. Dwin.

[70] That is, aftershocks.

[71] That is, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, a great-great-grandson of the second ʿAbbāsid caliph. He was the imām and preacher of the Great Mosque in the city of al-Manṣūr for fifty years. He died at the age of seventy-five in 308 (920-21). See Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, III, 356. The nickname Ibn Turunjah, referring to a citrus fruit (?) (also Utrujjah, see below, n. 357), is not mentioned in *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*. For Utrunjah as a female proper name, see text above, III, 1300.

# The Events of the Year 281

(MARCH 13, 894 - MARCH 1, 895)

One of the events was the arrival in Madīnat al-Salām of Turk[72] b. al-ʿAbbās, the governor representing the central authorities in Diyār Muḍar. Ibn al-ʿAbbās arrived on al-Muḥarram 9,[73] 281 (March 21, 894). He brought some // forty of the men of Abū al-Agharr,[74] the master of Sumaysāṭ, on camels. They wore hoods and silken cloaks.[75] The men were brought to al-Muʿtaḍid's palace. They were then remanded to the New Prison where they were incarcerated. Turk was given a robe of honor, and he then returned to his residence. [2140]

In this year, word reached Baghdad that a battle had taken place between Waṣīf,[76] the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, and that ʿUmar had been routed. Waṣīf then returned to his master Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj in Rabīʿ II, 281 (June 10-July 8, 894).

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72 R: "Zīrak," in both cases. Since there is no more information on this individual, his actual name remains doubtful. It is unlikely that the reading Zīrak resulted from a confusion with Zīrak al-Turkī, d. 269; see below, n. 171.

73 R: "seven."

74 Abū al-Agharr Khalīfah b. al-Mubārak (b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā; see text below, 2191) al-Sulamī died on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 7, 303 (June 12, 916). See ʿArīb, 59. The essential information on him is contained in the following pages of Ṭabarī.

75 The costume, mentioned frequently in connection with captured rebels, mainly heretics, who were displayed in triumph, appears to have the significance of branding them as effeminate and, in particular, as dressed in a manner not proper for Muslims. It seemed important for Ibn al-Muʿtazz to mention in his poem (verse 190) in connection with the Khārijite Hārūn. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno*, Hārūn objected to wearing brocade because it was illegal, and he had to be forced to wear it.

76 See text above, III, 2117f. His death in 288 (901) is reported below, 2205.

77 Ṭughj, the father of Muḥammad, the founder of the Ikhshīdid dynasty, died in prison in Baghdad in 294 (906-7). On his brothers, who were military men like him, see nn. 155 and 742. This important contemporary leader appears first in Ṭabarī, text above, III, 2132. See also Bacharach, "The career of... al-Ikhshīd"; Kāshif, *Ikhshīdiyyūn*, 57-61.

On Thursday, Jumādā II 15, 281 (Thursday, August 22, 894), Ṭughj b. Juff[77] reportedly entered Ṭarsūs for the summer campaign on behalf of Khumārawayh. On this campaign, he reached Ṭarāyūn and conquered Malūriyah.[78]

On Jumādā (II) 24, 281 (August 31, 894), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭā'ī[79] died in al-Kūfah and was buried there in a place called Masjid al-Sahlah.[80]

In this year, the springs and brooks in al-Rayy and Ṭabaristān dried up. *Afterwards, people were afflicted by a terrible famine, so that people ate each other and someone would even eat his own daughter.*[81]

On Rajab 2, 281 (September 7, 894), al-Muʿtaḍid left for al-Jabal[82] and marched toward the district (*nāḥiyah*) of al-Dīnawar. He put Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaḍid in charge of al-Rayy, Qazwīn, Zanjān, Abhar, Qumm, Hamadhān, and al-Dīnawar.[83] Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh was entrusted with ʿAlī's

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[78] The identification of Ṭarāyūn with Tyriaeon in Pisidia (see Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Tyraion; Naour, *Tyriaion*) seems acceptable. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11. Among later distortions of the name, the reading Ṭarābzūn (Ibn al-Athīr; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān*, as quoted in a footnote of the edition of Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 86) apparently came about through an absurd identification with Trebizond/Trabzon on the Black Sea.

The vocalization Malūriyah is uncertain. The name also occurs in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 146, ed. Pellat, V, 151. Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11, 42, was unable to suggest an identification. It could be the same place as *Mlqwbyh* mentioned in the text above, III, 709, l. 11, that is, Greek Malakopea; see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 47. An easy and natural identification, however, would seem to be Balboura near Tyriaeon. See Naour, map on p. 6.

[79] See text above, III, 2127; Halm, *Kosmologie*, 1. See also Guest, *Ibn er Rūmī*, 28; Busse, "Hofbudget," 14f.

[80] Massignon, "Plan de Kufa," 353, refers to this mosque with reference to Ṭabarī and places it on his map (fig. 1) at the site of Masjid ʿAbd al-Qays; reprinted in Massignon, *Opera Minora*, III, 52. See also *EI*[2], s. v. al-Kūfa (V, 348b).

[81] This addition in R also appears in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 147. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno*, does not have it, but his entry for the year 280 adds: "Eventually three liters (*raṭl*) of water cost a dirham, and prices rose greatly." Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 86, includes both additions in his narrative.

[82] That is, Northern Iraq, with the alternative form al-Jibāl. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 185-231.

[83] When al-Muktafī, who was at the time seventeen years old, returned to Baghdad four years later, his father expressed great satisfaction with his accomplishments in al-Rayy: "You left a son and returned a colleague." See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 3.

secretariat, and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī[84] // was put in [2141] charge of his military expenditures and the estates of al-Rayy. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf was given charge of Iṣbahān, Nahāwand, and al-Karaj. Returning hurriedly because of high prices and lack of provisions, the Caliph reached Baghdad on Wednesday, Ramaḍān 3, 281 (Wednesday, November 6, 894).

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah,[85] Rāfiʿ's agent in al-Rayy, asked ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaḍid for a guarantee of safe-conduct together with a thousand men. ʿAlī sent him to his father al-Muʿtaḍid.

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah (January 2-February 1, 895), the Arab tribesmen entered Sāmarrā, took Ibn Sīmā Unuf[86] captive, and looted the city.

On Dhū al-Qaʿdah 24, 281 (January 25, 895), al-Muʿtaḍid left for Mosul for the second time in order to pursue Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn.[87] He did this because word reached him that Ḥamdān was leaning toward Hārūn al-Shārī al-Wāziqī[88] and was propa-

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84 He is not heard from after his exile to Wāsiṭ in 290 (903). See text below, 2230.

85 Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 282, in relating al-Ḥasan's appointment as successor to Buktamir (see text below, n. 121), referred to him as al-Khurāsānī. Nothing significant seems to be known about him after Ṭabarī.

86 The vocalization Unuf is conjectural. He may quite possibly be a son of Sīmā al-Sharābī (see text above, III, 1550). Since he presumably disappeared in connection with the reported incident, he could not be identical with the later-mentioned al-Qāsim b. Sīmā. The slave name Sīmā "Silver" is, of course, common.

87 Ḥamdān, after whom the Ḥamdānid dynasty came to be named, was the father of Abū al-Hayjā', who was in turn the father of Nāṣir al-Dawlah and Sayf al-Dawlah. For the first report on his connection with the Khārijite Hārūn in the year 272 (885-6), see text above, III, 2108f. See also Canard, *Ḥamdānides*, 298ff.

88 See Ibn al-Muʿtazz, verses 185-97. Hārūn al-Shārī survived his surrender in 283 (see text below, 2150f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 168f., ed. Pellat, V, 157f.) and died in prison in 304 (916-7) (see *Eclipse*, I, 40, referred to by Massignon, *Passion*², I, 472; Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 35). A treatise by Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, the founder of the Ẓāhirite school, who died earlier in 270 (884), is assumed to deal with this Hārūn al-Shārī. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 217, l. 16.

The term *shārī* is well known as a preferred self-designation of the Khārijites based on Qur. 2:207 and 4:74. *Wāziqī* may refer to a Khārijite subsect to which Hārūn belonged. If Ibn al-Athīr is correct in assigning Hārūn to the Ṣufriyyah, the term *wāziqī* may more precisely refer to a subsect of the latter. A Syriac fragment (referred to by the editor of the Leiden edition in a note to this passage) deals with the Khārijites in this area and is preserved in Elias Bar Shīnāyā, *Chronography*, text, 186, trans. 88, quoted from Baethgen, *Fragmente*, text, 66, trans., 132, *sub anno* 266. It mentions the *W'zyqāyē*. The Taghlib, to which the Ḥamdānids belonged, are listed there together with the Kurds as Yaʿqūbite/Wāzīqite Khārijites.

gandizing for him. The following dispatch from al-Muʿtaḍid in Karkh Juddān[89] reached the eunuch Najāḥ al-Ḥuramī[90] concerning a battle between al-Muʿtaḍid and the Arab tribesmen and Kurds that had taken place on Friday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 30, 281 (Friday, January 31, 895):

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

> This dispatch of mine is being written early on the night of Saturday. God—Praised be He!—has given us victory over the Kurds and the Arab tribesmen and enabled us to capture a large number of them and their families. You could have seen us driving away their cattle and sheep as we did last year. The spears and swords were getting at them without interruption, until the night intervened between us. Fires were lit on the mountain tops. The following morning, the operation will be wound up, and my troops will follow me to al-Karkh.[91] We attacked[92] and
> [2142] killed them // over a distance of fifty miles (*mīl*)[93], and not one of them remained to tell the tale. God be praised very much! It is now our duty to be grateful ⌜to God⌝. Praised be God, the Lord of the worlds, and may God's prayers and ample blessings be upon the Prophet Muḥammad and his family!

When the Arab tribesmen and Kurds had learned that al-Muʿtaḍid was leaving Baghdad, they had made a solemn compact with each other, swearing under oath that they all were ready to die together. They gathered and arranged troops in three

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[89] Also known as Karkh Sāmarrā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 52, 54f.

[90] According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 116, ed. Pellat, V, 138, he was in charge of the dungeons and of torture. It is not evident why he should have been the recipient of the dispatch.

[91] That is, the previously mentioned Karkh Juddān/Sāmarrā.

[92] R: *īqāʿunā*.

[93] One *mīl* corresponds to 2 km. That they were pursued and slaughtered along a route that extended over a hundred kilometers seems exaggerated.

squadrons,[94] one behind the other. They placed their households *and possessions* at the rear of the squadron. Al-Muʿtaḍid, with a cavalry detachment, advanced ahead of his troops and attacked the Arab tribesmen and Kurds, killing some of them. A large number of them drowned[95] in the Zāb.

Al-Muʿtaḍid then left for Mosul, marching toward the fortress of Mārdīn which was in the hands of Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn. When word reached Ḥamdān of al-Muʿtaḍid's approach, he fled, leaving his son[96] behind. The troops of al-Muʿtaḍid stationed themselves opposite the fortress. Those within it fought them all that day. The next morning, al-Muʿtaḍid mounted and went up to the fortress. When he reached the gate, he called out, "O Ibn Ḥamdūn,"[97] and (someone) replied, "At your service!" Al-Muʿtaḍid told him, "Woe unto you! Open the gate!," and he did. Al-Muʿtaḍid now seated himself in the gate and ordered people to go in and bring out all the property and furniture that was in the fortress. He then ordered the fortress destroyed, and this was done. Following this, he sought Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, and the most strenuous search was undertaken. Property that was on deposit with him was seized, and all of it was brought to al-Muʿtaḍid. Ḥamdān was captured later.[98]

Al-Muʿtaḍid then went to a city called al-Ḥasaniyyah.[99] A man called Shaddād[100] was there with a substantial army, reportedly ten // thousand men. He had a stronghold in the [2143]
city. Al-Muʿtaḍid defeated him, then seized him and had his stronghold destroyed.

In this year, word was received from the Mecca Road that a severe cold, torrential rains, and hail had been encountered by

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[94] On the difference between fighting in rows (*ṣaff*) and in squadrons (*kurdūs*), see text above, III, 312.

[95] R: "was caused by him to drown."

[96] Apparently, al-Ḥusayn, about whom much is said in the following pages.

[97] "O Ibn Ḥamdūn" appears to be the original reading. It may indicate that al-Muʿtaḍid was under the impression that Ḥamdān was still there.

[98] This anticipates later events. R, however, reads incorrectly: "captured and brought to al-Muʿtaḍid to a city."

[99] According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 270, al-Ḥasaniyyah was a place east of Mosul named after al-Ḥasan (b. ʿUmar al-Taghlibī), at a distance of two days travel between Mosul and Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar (al-Taghlibī).

[100] There is no further information about him.

people undertaking the pilgrimage (*fī al-muṣʿad*).[101] More than five hundred people were affected.

In Shawwāl, 281 (December 4, 894-January 1, 895), the Muslims raided the Byzantines. The fighting between them lasted twelve days. The Muslims were victorious and gained much booty. Then they returned.[102]

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[101] This is the common meaning of *muṣʿad*, also vocalized incorrectly as *maṣʿad*. The suggestion in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCXXIV, with reference to earlier passages, that the word refers to ʿArafah does not apply here. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 147, ll. 20-23, gives a different account of the episode.

[102] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11. The concluding reference to the leader of the pilgrimage is missing here, see text above, n. 31.

# The Events of the Year 282

## (March 2, 895 - February 18, 896)

One of the events was al-Muʿtaḍid's order, in al-Muḥarram, 282 (March 2-31, 895), that dispatches be drafted and sent to all government agents in the various districts and provincial centers stating that the collection of the land tax should not begin on New Year's Day—the Persian *nayrūz*—but that it should be postponed to Ḥazīrān 11 (June 11). This (new date) was called the Muʿtaḍidī New Year.[103] Dispatches were drafted to this effect and sent out from Mosul where al-Muʿtaḍid was at the time. In a dispatch concerning this sent to Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb[104] in Baghdad, al-Muʿtaḍid informed Yūsuf that he wanted to help the people and show kindness to them. He also ordered that his dispatch be read[105] in public, and this was done.

In this year, Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ arrived from Egypt with the daughter of Abū al-Jaysh Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn whom al-Muʿtaḍid had married.[106] She was accompanied by

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103 With the end of the Sassanian Empire, the intercalary day of the Persian solar year came to be disregarded, with the result that New Year's Day moved back in the year by sixty days. It now fell so early in the year that the collection of the land tax started long before harvest time and caused great hardship to farmers. This fiscal reform was one of the most significant events of al-Muʿtaḍid's reign. It was considered as such already by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who devoted many verses to it (224-47), and was always mentioned in connection with al-Muʿtaḍid. See Glagow, 140-42. For the precedent set by al-Mutawakkil, see text above, III, 1448.

104 The qāḍī Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb was born in 208 (823-4) and died on Monday, Ramaḍān 9, 297 (Tuesday, May 22, 910). He was appointed judge of the *maẓālim* court in 277 (890-1) (see text above, III, 2118). See Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XIV, 310-12; *EI*[2] *Suppl.*, s. v. Ibn Dirham VIII. See also text above, III, 1942. For his son, Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad, see below, n. 217.

105 R: "he ordered him to read his dispatch."

106 See above, n. 16; Glagow, 63-67. For Qaṭr al-Nadā's gifts to al-Muʿtaḍid on New Year's Day 282, see Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 38f. They may have been brought with her on this trip.

one of her paternal uncles.[107] They entered Baghdad on Sunday, al-Muḥarram 2, 292 (Monday, March 3, 895), and the lady was
[2144] brought to (her residence) // that night.[108] She settled in the (former) house of Ṣā'id b. Makhlad,[109] as al-Mu'taḍid was away in Mosul.

In this year, people were forbidden to pour water (upon passersby), raise bonfires,[110] *parade grotesque figures,*[111] and do other things they used to do on the Persian New Year's Day.

In this year, al-Mu'taḍid wrote from Mosul to Isḥāq b. Ayyūb[112] and Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn ordering them to come to him. Isḥāq b. Ayyūb complied speedily *and came to al-Mu'taḍid,* but Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn ensconced himself in his fortresses and sent his possessions and women away. Al-Mu'taḍid sent the army against him with Waṣīf Mūshgīr,[113] Naṣr al-Qushūrī,[114]

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107 He was Abū al-Karādīs b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. See Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 43. Qaṭr al-Nadā had also been accompanied to the borders of Egypt by her aunt al-'Abbāsah.

108 Instead of "lady" (*al-ḥurrah*) as in R and C, the text has *al-ḥaram* "she was brought into the harem," no doubt a mistake. The party seems to have arrived in Baghdad late on Sunday, during the night of Sunday to Monday, and Qaṭr al-Nadā was immediately taken to her temporary residence. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 207, ed. Pellat, V, 173, wrongly indicates that her arrival took place in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 281.

109 A convert to Islam, Ṣā'id b. Makhlad was appointed secretary in 265 (879) (see text above, III, 1930). He served as a wazīr of al-Mu'tamid and al-Muwaffaq (Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 316ff.). His property was confiscated in 272 (885), and he died in 276 (889-90) (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 101). His residence was used as a guest house after his death.

110 Or "fireworks" (?).

111 R adds *wa-ikhrāj al-samāḥāt* (read *samājāt*). For *samājah*, see text above, III, 1318. For further references, see also the editor's footnote in Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 26. Given their popularity, the New Year's customs mentioned could not be eliminated and continued to be observed on the Mu'taḍidī New Year. See text below, 2163; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ed. Sachau, 266.

112 He was in charge of security in Diyār Rabī'ah. See text above, III, 1942. For his death, see text below, 2193f.

113 He appears first as a page of Abū al-'Abbās (al-Mu'taḍid) before he became caliph. See text above, III, 2121. He died on Thursday, Ramaḍān 16, 299 (Thursday, May 7, 912). See 'Arīb, 37f. *Mūshgīr* means "mouse catcher" in Persian and refers to a bird of prey that feeds on mice.

114 Naṣr al-Qushūrī appears here for the first time in Ṭabarī. As Ibn al-Athīr reports *sub anno* 282, he wrote a threatening letter to the Khārijite Hārūn and received a defiant reply. Al-Mu'taḍid was thus determined to take energetic measures (see year 283). He sent al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Kūrah against Hārūn on an expedition which was less than decisive. Under al-Muqtadir, Naṣr then played a great role as chamberlain. See, for instance, Massignon, *Passion*², I, 471-75.

and others. They encountered al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah and his men who had stopped (to attack) one of Ḥamdān's fortresses in a place called Dayr al-Zaʿfarān[115] in the territory of Mosul. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān[116] was there, and when he saw the first troops coming, he sought a guarantee of safe-conduct and was granted it. At this, he went to al-Muʿtaḍid and handed the fortress over to him. Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered it to be destroyed. Waṣīf Mūshgīr went off in hot pursuit of Ḥamdān who had reached a place known as Bāsūrīn[117] between the Tigris and a large river where the water was high. Waṣīf's men crossed over to Ḥamdān. When he became aware of them, he and his men mounted and defended themselves, until most of them were killed. Ḥamdān then jumped into // a skiff that lay prepared [2145] for him in the Tigris, together with a Christian secretary of his called Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā.[118] He carried money along. He crossed over to the western bank of the Tigris in Diyār Rabīʿah, counting upon joining the Arab tribesmen, as he was separated from his Kurds on the eastern[119] bank. A small number of troops crossed over to pursue him. Eventually, they came within view of a monastery where he had halted. Upon seeing them, he fled from the monastery together with his secretary. The two then jumped into a skiff and left the money behind in the monastery, from where it was taken to al-Muʿtaḍid. The government troops went down in pursuit of Ḥamdān, (on land) on horseback and (in boats) on the water. When they caught up with him, he left the skiff unarmed[120] and went to an estate of his on the eastern bank of the Tigris. He mounted a horse belonging to his estate agent and traveled all night, until he reached the tent of Isḥāq b. Ayyūb in the camp of al-Muʿtaḍid who gave orders that he be guarded and sent cavalry in pursuit of his associates. His

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115 The monastery has remained important to this day.

116 He died in 306 (918-9). See ʿArīb, 76f. See text above, n. 96.

117 Yāqūt mentions Bāsūrīn referring to the history of Ḥamdān, possibly relying on Ṭabarī. He indicates that it is in the administrative district of Mosul, east of the Tigris (*Muʿjam*, I, 467). See also Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 52, 54; Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 301. Bāsūrīn, beginning with the abbreviated form of *bēt*, may be an Aramaic place-name. However, its second element may refer to the Persian Sūrēn.

118 No further information is available for him.

119 R: "western."

120 Text: *khāsiran*, read *ḥāsiran* as in R. *Ḥāsir* is commonly used with approximately the indicated meaning. See, for instance, text above, II, 1906.

secretary and a number of his relatives and pages were captured. At this, the chieftains of the Kurds and others, one after the other, asked for guarantees of safe-conduct. This took place at the end of al-Muḥarram, 282 (March 31, 895).

In Rabīʿ I, 282 (April 30-May 29, 895), Buktamir b. Ṭāshtamir[121] was seized, put in fetters, and incarcerated. His property, estates, and residences were also seized.

On Rabīʿ II 4, 282 (June 2, 895), the daughter of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad was taken to al-Muʿtaḍid. It had been announced on both sides of Baghdad that on Sunday (June 1), nobody should cross the Tigris. The gates of the alleys adjacent to the river were locked. On *each of* the streets leading to the Tigris, police barricades made of canvass[122] were set up, and on both banks of
[2146] the Tigris, deputies were stationed // to prevent anyone from appearing outside their houses on the river bank. After the night prayer, a barge arrived from the palace of al-Muʿtaḍid, carrying eunuchs with candles. They stopped in front of the house of Ṣāʿid. Four fast boats tied to the house of Ṣāʿid had been made ready, and when the barge came, they were lowered, and the barge then proceeded in front of the people (in the fast boats).[123] On Monday (June 2), the lady stayed in the palace of al-Muʿtaḍid. She was unveiled ⌜to him⌝ on Tuesday, Rabīʿ II[124] 5, 282 (Tuesday, June 3, 895).

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid went to al-Jabal. Reaching al-Karaj he seized property belonging to Ibn Abī Dulaf and wrote to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf asking him for jewels[125] that were in his possession. ʿUmar sent them to him but kept away from the Caliph.

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121 Regarding him, see text above, III, 1885.

122 See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCIX and DCCXCVII. R: *shirāʿ* "sails." Sails strung up would have blocked the view of the river, but *sharā'ij* "sacks made of palm leaves" would serve well as barricades.

123 This could mean that the fast boats pulled up alongside the barge, and Qaṭr al-Nadā was transferred from a fast boat to it.

124 Text: Rabīʿ I. Although this is wrong, it is also found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 150; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 27. R has the correct Rabīʿ II.

125 The plural is more likely here than one specific jewel. *Jawhar* could mean both singular and plural.

In this year, after al-Muʿtaḍid had left Baghdad, Lu'lu',[126] the page of Ibn Ṭūlūn, was released and given horses and mules to ride.

In this year, Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj was sent to al-Ṣaymarah to reinforce Fatḥ al-Qalānisī,[127] *the page of al-Muwaffaq, with a number of officers and about two thousand men attached to al-Qalānisī.* However, he fled with those loyal to him to his brother Muḥammad in al-Marāghah. On his way, he came upon property belonging to the government and seized it. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir[128] said concerning this:

O rightly guided Imām! Your supporters, the family[129] of Ṭāhir,
Have been treated harshly over the years.

They have constantly combined steadfastness with gratitude,
Whereas someone else, who has been given many gifts, absconds.// [2147]

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid sent the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān to al-Rayy to his son Abū Muḥammad. *ʿUbaydallāh and Badr arrived and stayed, and al-Muktafī left. Badr and ʿUbaydallāh then went after Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. They stayed for a while in some of the regions of al-Rayy, but when Takīn did not come to them, they went toward Ṭabaristān.*[130]

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126 Lu'lu', who had controlled northern and northeastern Syria for Ibn Ṭūlūn, defected to Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq in 269 (882-3) (see text above, III, 2028f.). On Dhū al-Qaʿdah 22, 273 (April 20, 887), he was imprisoned by al-Muwaffaq, and his property, amounting reportedly to four hundred thousand dīnārs, was confiscated. According to him, the only reason for the treatment meted out to him was his great wealth (see text above, III, 2112). He died in 304 (916-7). See ʿArīb, 63.

127 I have not succeded in locating further information on him.

128 The well-known Ṭāhirid died in his eighties on Saturday, Shawwāl 12, 300 (Saturday, May 22, 913). See ʿArīb, 40; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XI, 340-4; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 117-9. On his poetical and literary activities, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 375, II, 612.

129 R: "and the son."

130 Although "al-Muktafī" replaces the more appropriate "Abū Muḥammad," there is no reason to assume that this addition of R did not originate somewhere in Ṭabarī's notes. However, since Badr is not mentioned before, it may be misplaced (see text below, 2178). The reference to Takīn (the same as text below, 2291 ?) derives from an uncertain reading of the manuscript and may be in error.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ʿAlawī[131] sent thirty-two thousand dīnārs from Ṭabaristān to Muḥammad b. Ward al-ʿAṭṭār[132] for distribution to his followers[133] in Baghdad and al-Kūfah as well as in Mecca and al-Madīnah. Muḥammad b. Ward was denounced and taken to the house of Badr and questioned about the matter. He mentioned that Muḥammad b. Zayd had been sending him the like amount of money every year, and he had subsequently distributed it among his followers in the way he had been ordered. Badr then informed al-Muʿtaḍid about this. He told him that the man and the money were in his hands, and asked him what he should do with him.

As mentioned on the authority of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥasanī,[134] al-Muʿtaḍid asked Badr whether he did not remember the dream he once related to him. When Badr replied, "No, O Commander of the Faithful," al-Muʿtaḍid said, "Don't you remember that I told you that al-Nāṣir[135] called me and said to me, 'Know that the caliphate will be yours! Now (when you are caliph), be circumspect in your dealings[136] with the family of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib!' " Al-Muʿtaḍid continued, "I saw myself in a dream leaving Baghdad with my army for the district of al-Nahrawān. Many onlookers were watching me. I passed by a man standing upon a hill. He was praying and paid me no attention. I wondered about him and his lack of interest in my troops when all those people were watching them. I approached and stopped in front of him. When he finished his prayer, he asked me to come forward, and I did. He asked me whether I recognized him, and when I replied that I did not, he said, 'I am ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Take this spade'—pointing to a spade in front

131 Al-Qā'im bi-l-Ḥaqq (referred to, it seems, as al-Dāʿī ilā al-Ḥaqq, in text below, 2151) was the ruler of the Caspian Zaydīs from 270-87 (883-900) and apparently the brother of the founder of Zaydī rule there, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 205f., ed. Pellat, V, 172, briefly refers to this episode and to a dream in which al-Muʿtaḍid saw ʿAlī, as proof of al-Muʿtaḍid's pro-ʿAlid leanings.

132 There is no further information on him.

133 Here and below, R has "the ʿAlawīs," which appears also in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 150.

134 Unidentified.

135 That is, al-Muʿtaḍid's father al-Muwaffaq.

136 Lit., "look out how you will be," which need not always be as positive as it appears to be meant here.

of him—'and hit the ground with it!' I took it and hit the ground with it several times. Then he said to me, 'The number of your descendants who will successively become caliphs will correspond to the number of times you have hit the ground. Exhort them to be good to my descendants!' " // Badr said, "Yes, [2148]
O Commander of the Faithful, now I remember." Al-Mu'taḍid continued, "So release the money and release the man, and tell him to write to his master in Ṭabaristān that anything he sends him he should send to him openly. Muḥammad b. Ward shall distribute whatever he does openly. Also, help Muḥammad to do as he wishes in this connection!"[137]

On Sha'bān 18, 282 (October 12, 895), Abū Ṭalḥah Manṣūr b. Muslim[138] died in al-Mu'taḍid's prison.

On Ramaḍān 8, 282 (October 31, 895), the wazīr 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān reached Baghdad from al-Rayy. Al-Mu'taḍid bestowed a robe of honor upon him.

On Ramaḍān 22, 282 (November 14, 895), Nā'im, a slave girl of Umm al-Qāsim bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh,[139] gave birth to a son of al-Mu'taḍid whom he named Ja'far.[140] Al-Mu'taḍid called this slave girl Shaghab.

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137 For another version, see Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, I, 132f., and for a different dream of the same meaning, see Mas'ūdī (above, n. 131). For al-Mu'taḍid's attitude toward the Daylam of Ṭabaristān, see Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 319ff.

As this is a contemporary report, we cannot dismiss the dream as a literary convention. The story was circulated for political purposes, and for all we know, the Caliph himself, or his advisers, circulated it. It indicates the policy line which al-Mu'taḍid adopted, or was forced to adopt, toward the 'Alid Shī'ites, that is, tolerance wherever possible and to the extent possible. In this particular case, it was apparently assumed that the propaganda of the Caspian Zaydīs constituted no immediate threat to Iraq and the Holy Cities, which were always politically troublesome. This might have been the case, even though the political problem posed by the Daylam at the northern border was great and required constant vigilance and action. Already in the following year, the Caspian Zaydīs took over Naysābūr for a while.

138 See text above, III, 2121.

139 Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 95, confirms that Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh was the well-known Ṭāhirid [d. 253 (867); see text above, III, 1291] and the brother of the above mentioned 'Ubaydallāh (see n. 128). Nothing more is known about his daughter Umm al-Qāsim.

140 That is, the future al-Muqtadir. His mother Shaghab played an important role during his reign. She died in 320 (932). See, for instance, 'Arīb, 186; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 253f., *sub anno* 321; Massignon, *Passion*², I, 446-53.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 18, 282 (February 7, 896), Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Mādharā'ī,[141] arrived in Baghdad from Damascus by way of the desert. He had reached Baghdad in eleven days. He informed al-Mu'taḍid that Khumārawayh had been murdered in his bed by one of the eunuchs attached to his inner circle. He was reportedly killed on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 3, 282 (January 23, 896). According to another report, Ibrāhīm reached Baghdad from Damascus in seven days. Some twenty of Khumārawayh's eunuchs who were suspected of his murder were put to death.[142]

Al-Mu'taḍid had sent gifts to Khumārawayh with Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ and had entrusted him with a message to Khumārawayh.[143]
[2149] Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ had already left on his mission and reached // Sāmarrā when al-Mu'taḍid learned of Khumārawayh's death. He therefore wrote to Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ and ordered him to return, which he did. Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ entered Baghdad on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 23, 282 (February 12, 896).

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141 See Gottschalk, *Mādarā'ijjūn*, 51; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, V, 306. A secretary of Khumārawayh, he was there when the latter was killed. He died in 313 (925-6), at the age of sixty-six.

142 According to Eutychius, *Annales*, text, 72, he was killed on the night of Sunday, Dhū al-Qa'dah 27 (Saturday, January 17). Eutychius also mentions the names of six eunuchs involved in the assassination.

143 The robes of honor which al-Mu'taḍid sent to Khumārawayh and his brothers and which were worth fifty-three thousand dīnārs may have been part of these gifts. See Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 39.

# The Events of the Year 283

## (FEBRUARY 19, 896 - FEBRUARY 7, 897)

One of the events was al-Muʿtaḍid's departure, on al-Muḥarram 17, 283 (March 6, 896), for the district of Mosul on account of the Khārijite Hārūn, whom he subsequently defeated. His dispatch announcing the victory reached Madīnat al-Salām on Tuesday, Rabīʿ I 9, 283 (Monday, April 26, 896). The reason for his victory over him was as follows:

When al-Muʿtaḍid sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān with horsemen and foot soldiers from his household and others of his men against the Khārijite, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān reportedly said to him, "If I bring the Khārijite to the Commander of the Faithful, I have three wishes for the Commander of the Faithful." Al-Muʿtaḍid told him to mention the wishes, and he said, "My first wish is for the release of my father. The other two I shall ask for after I have brought (the Khārijite) back." Al-Muʿtaḍid replied, "I grant you that, and now go!"

Al-Ḥusayn said that he required three hundred horsemen to be selected by himself, whereupon al-Muʿtaḍid sent three hundred horsemen with him together with (Waṣīf) Mūshgīr. Al-Ḥusayn then requested that the Commander of the Faithful order Mūshgīr not to oppose any of his commands, and al-Muʿtaḍid ordered Mūshgīr to do so.

Al-Ḥusayn went as far as the Tigris Ford,[144] and then ordered Waṣīf and those with him to stay there, telling him, "Hārūn will have to pass through here // while fleeing. Don't leave the [2150]
place, until he passes by you, then prevent him from crossing! I shall come to you, unless you receive word that I have been killed." Al-Ḥusayn then went in search of Hārūn, and upon

144 Apparently, a particular ford known as the Tigris Ford in the region of Mosul. Note, however, that B has "a ford in the Tigris."

finding him, he attacked. Both sides suffered losses, but the Khārijite Hārūn was routed. Meanwhile, Waṣīf had remained three days at the Ford when his companions said to him, "We have stayed too long in this desolate place; this has been harmful to us. We cannot be sure that Ḥusayn will not himself seize the Khārijite and get credit for the victory instead of us. The right thing to do is to follow them." Waṣīf listened to them and left.

Now the fleeing Khārijite arrived at the location of the Ford and crossed the river. Ḥusayn, coming in pursuit of him, did not see Waṣīf and his men in the place where he had left them, and he had no information about Hārūn and saw no trace of him. He started to ask for information about Hārūn and eventually learned about his having crossed *the Tigris*. He crossed the river in pursuit of him and came to one of the Arab tribes. When he asked them about the Khārijite, they concealed his whereabouts from him. As a result he intended to attack them, and he informed them that al-Muʿtaḍid was coming in his wake. They now informed him that the Khārijite had passed through their territory. Al-Ḥusayn left them his own horses, which had become weak and tired, and took some of theirs. He pursued the Khārijite, and, after several days, he made contact with him and about one hundred men with him.[145] The Khārijite implored him (not to fight) and made promises to him.[146] But Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān insisted upon fighting, and a battle took place. Ḥusayn reportedly threw himself at the Khārijite, but his men quickly got to him and seized him. Ḥusayn took him to al-Muʿtaḍid as someone who had peacefully surrendered without any preconditions. (In fulfilment of al-Ḥusayn's wish), al-Muʿtaḍid ordered that Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn's fetters be removed and that he be given generous gifts and shown kindness, until he[147] could come and release him and bestow a robe of honor upon him.

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[145] R omits *wa-al-Shārī*, giving the mistaken impression that "about one hundred men" were with al-Ḥusayn.

[146] The normal meaning of *tawaʿʿada*, "to threaten," is unlikely here.

[147] Apparently, al-Muʿtaḍid. However, Miskawayh has " his son," which is possibly the better reading. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVII. In any case, the subject of "release," etc., would be the Caliph.

When the Khārijite was captured and // in al-Muʿtaḍid's [2151]
hands, the Caliph returned to Madīnat al-Salām. Arriving there on Rabīʿ I 22, 283 (May 9, 896), he encamped at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah where he mustered the army. Al-Muʿtaḍid bestowed a robe of honor and a gold necklace upon al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān. The elephant[148] was adorned with cloth of brocade, and something like a woman's litter was set up on it for the Khārijite. He was seated in it, dressed in a cloak of brocade with a silken hood over his head.[149]

On Jumādā I 20, 283 (July 5, 896), al-Muʿtaḍid sent a written order to all the districts indicating that the surplus of inheritance shares be returned to the blood relatives (of the deceased), that the Office of Inheritances (*Dīwān al-Mawārīth*) be abolished, and that the officials in charge of the inheritances be dismissed.[150] Letters to this effect were dispatched and read from the pulpits.

In this year, ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār left Naysābūr. Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah went there while ʿAmr was away. He entered the city and included mention of the Ṭālibids Muḥammad b. Zayd and his father Zayd in the Friday sermon in the following manner: "O God! Give success to him who calls to the truth (*al-dāʿī ilā al-ḥaqq*)."[151] ʿAmr later returned to Naysābūr and encamped outside the city, digging a trench around his camp. This was on Rabīʿ II 10, 283 (May 18, 896). He remained there, keeping the inhabitants of Naysābūr under siege.

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148 The definite article may indicate that the special elephant customarily used on such occasions is meant. In reporting this episode, however, Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 169f., ed. Pellat, V, 157f., does not have the definite article. See, in particular, text above, III, 1303.

149 For Hārūn's alleged objection to this treatment, see above, n. 75.

150 The *mawārīth* dealt with estates for which there were not enough legal heirs to claim inheritance shares covering the entire estate. The question was whether the surplus was to go to the state or to the more remote agnates. Al-Muʿtaḍid's decision in favor of the second option must have been widely popular. The Caliph solicited legal opinions from his judges and followed the views expressed by Abū Khāzim (see below, n. 506) and Ibn Abī al-Shawārib (see below, n. 209) against Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 161f. In 311 (923), it proved necessary to reaffirm al-Muʿtaḍid's (and al-Muktafī's) practice. On this occasion, the secretary Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Thawābah (d. the following year; see *EI²*, s. v. Ibn Thawāba) drafted a document restating the earlier arguments, and the original letter from Abū Khāzim addressed to Badr was reproduced. See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 268-75.

151 See above, n. 131.

On Monday, Jumādā II 4, 283 (Monday, July 19, 896), Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundāj,[152] Khāqān al-Mufliḥī,[153] Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr, who was known as Bunduqah,[154] Badr b. Juff,[155] the brother of Ṭughj, and Ibn Ḥasanaj[156] arrived in Baghdad from Egypt together with a number of officers to
[2152] seek guarantees of safe-conduct. // Their reason for going to al-Muʿtaḍid to seek guarantees of safe-conduct was their attempted assassination of Jaysh b. Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.[157] They were denounced to him while Jaysh was out riding, and they were in his cortège. Thus they realized that he was aware of their plan. So they left the very same day and went into the desert, leaving their property and families behind. For several days, they wandered around and a number of them died of thirst. They emerged on the Mecca Road at a distance of a two or three days' journey above al-Kūfah.[158] The central authorities sent Muḥammad b. Sulaymān,[159] the commander of the army, to al-Kūfah to register their names (in the military roll), and rations[160] were made ready for them at al-Kūfah. When they approached Baghdad, rations, tents, and food were sent out to them. They went to al-Muʿtaḍid on the day of their arrival. Robes of honor were bestowed upon them, and each officer was given a horse complete

[152] RC: "Kundāj," an alternative of Kundājīk.

[153] Khāqān al-Mufliḥī is not heard from after 304-5 (916-7). See text below; ʿArīb, 19, 67; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 18.

[154] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 90, mentions a Muḥammad b. Lamjūr (sic) as the brother of Bunduqah b. Lamjūr, but this seems to be an error. "Bunduqah" means "pellet" and the like; "Kumushgūr" is Turkish/Persian "silver ass."

[155] As is true of the other brothers of Ṭughj (see above, n. 77), practically nothing is known about Badr. See below, n. 742.

[156] See text above, III, 2027, where he is identified as Rūmī b. Ḥasanaj.

[157] Jaysh did not last much longer as ruler. He was deposed on Jumādā II 10, 283 (July 25, 896), and he was killed in prison a few days later. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 94.

[158] "Above" appears to be used here in the sense of "south of" (in keeping with the orientation of medieval maps?).

[159] He is identical with the person identified as a secretary of al-Muwaffaq. See text above, III, 2122. Before he defected with his master to al-Muwaffaq, he was known as the secretary of the eunuch Lu'lu' al-Ṭūlūnī. He died in 304 (916-7). See text below; ʿArīb; *Eclipse*, I, 51f. (with biographical footnote). Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn allegedly had forebodings concerning the role that Muḥammad b. Sulaymān would play in the downfall of his dynasty. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 111, quoting al-Quḍāʿī.

[160] *Waẓīfah* is the per diem requirements of an official, noted on his employment record. For the word in this sense, see, for instance, Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 226, ed. Pellat, V, 182.

with reins and bridle. Robes of honor were bestowed upon the rest. They numbered *altogether* sixty men.[161]

On Saturday, Jumādā II 16, 283 (Saturday, July 31, 896), the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān went to al-Jabal to wage war against Ibn Abī Dulaf in Iṣbahān.

In this year, a dispatch reportedly arrived at Baghdad from Ṭarsūs stating that a large number of Slavs[162] had raided the Byzantines. They had killed some of them, and, laying waste many villages, they had eventually reached Constantinople, where the Byzantines sought refuge and locked the gates of their capital. The Byzantine tyrant[163] then sent a message to the king of the Slavs stating, "Our religion and your religion are one and the same, so why do we kill each other?" The king of the Slavs replied, "This is the realm of my forefathers. I am not leaving unless one of us defeats the other." When the king of the Byzantines found he was unable to get rid of the ruler of the Slavs, he gathered the Muslims who were around, // gave [2153] them weapons, and asked them to help him against the Slavs. They did so and routed the Slavs. Seeing that, however, the king of the Byzantines now feared for his own safety. Thus he sent (a military contingent) against them. He turned them back and took their weapons. Then he dispersed them all over the country, as a precaution against their rising up against him.[164]

In the middle of Rajab, 283 (August 28, 896), word reached Baghdad from Egypt that the Maghribī and Berber troops (in the Egyptian Army) had revolted against Jaysh b. Khumārawayh. They told him that they were not content with him as amīr and

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161 Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 178, ed. Pellat, V, 160, adds that they went via Wādī al-Qurā (al-ʿUlā, the ancient Dedan), thus taking a very southern route before reaching the safety of the Mecca Road.

162 That is, the Bulghars.

163 That is, Leon VI (886-912).

164 See Vasiliev, II, 129f.; Canard, *Sources arabes*, 5, 13. The Bulghars under Symeon were provoked by Stylianos who exercised power under Leon VI, until he died in 896 and was succeeded by Leon's favorite, Samonas, an Arab convert. See Bréhier, *Monde byzantin*, II, 147ff.; L. Rydén, "The Portrait of the Arab Samonas in Byzantine Literature," *Graeco-Arabica*, 3 (Athens 1984), 101-108.

that he should remove himself so they could appoint his paternal uncle.[165] Jaysh's secretary, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mādharāʾī,[166] talked to them, asking them to leave Jaysh alone for the day. They left, but they returned the following day. Jaysh proceeded against the paternal uncle whom they had mentioned as their choice for amīr. He had him decapitated along with a another paternal uncle of his[167] and had their heads[168] hurled at the (rebellious) troops. The latter now assaulted Jaysh b. Khumārawayh, killing him and killing his mother.[169] They also looted his palace, and looted and set fires in the Egyptian capital. They replaced Jaysh with his brother Hārūn b. Khumārawayh.[170]

In Rajab, 283 (August 14-September 12, 896), al-Muʿtaḍid gave orders that the Dujayl Canal be cleared out, regardless of effort and expense, and that a rock in the Canal's mouth which was preventing the flow of water be removed. For that purpose, a levy of some four thousand dīnārs was reportedly collected from the owners of estates and fiefs and spent on the project. The secretary of Zīrak[171] and one of al-Muʿtaḍid's eunuchs were placed in charge of it.

In Shaʿbān, 283 (September 13-October 11, 896), ransom negotiations organized by Aḥmad b. Ṭughān[172] took place between the Muslims and the Byzantines. The dispatch reaching Baghdad
[2154] from Ṭarsūs about it reportedly read // as follows:

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[165] He was Abū al-ʿAshāʾir Naṣr. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 242; *al-ʿUyūn wa-l-ḥadāʾiq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 146; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 93f. In Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, 349, his name appears as Muḍar, which is very similar to Naṣr in the Arabic script.

[166] He was killed in this connection. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 93f.; Gottschalk, *Māḏarāʾijjūn*, 37-40.

[167] For Jaysh's treatment of his uncles Rabīʿah, Muḍar (see above n. 165), and Shaybān, see Ibn al-Dāyah, *Mukāfaʾah*, 102f. (see Rosenthal, *Freedom*, 57); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 93f.

[168] R: *bi-raʾsayhimā*.

[169] Her name is apparently not recorded in the histories.

[170] The last of the Ṭūlūnids (except for a few days of the rule of his uncle Shaybān), he lost his life in 292 (904), as recorded in the following pages.

[171] I have not succeeded in identifying him. On Zīrak, see above, n. 72.

[172] For Aḥmad b. Ṭughān al-ʿUjayfī, the governor of Ṭarsūs, see text above, III, 2130. He also appears in the list of ransom negotiations compiled by Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 192, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 12, 405; and he is mentioned in connection with the fate of Jaysh in Kindī, *Wulāh*, 243.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

I hereby inform you that Aḥmad b. Ṭughān publicly announced attendance at the ransom negotiations[173] on Thursday, Shaʿbān 4, 283 (Thursday, September 16, 896). On Friday, Shaʿbān 5, he went to Lāmis,[174] the Muslim encampment, having ordered the people to come out with him on that day. He led the Friday prayers and rode from the Friday Mosque in the company of Rāghib[175] and his *mawlās*. The notables of the town, the *mawlās*, the officers, and the volunteers, all in their finest raiment, left with him. People left for Lāmis in a steady stream until Monday, Shaʿbān 8, 283 (Monday, September 20, 896). *The ransom negotiations took place the day after Monday, Shaʿbān 9 (September 21).* The ransom negotiations between the two parties lasted twelve days. A total of 2,504[176] Muslim men, women, and children were ransomed. On Tuesday, Shaʿbān 22, 283 (Tuesday, October 5, 896), the Muslims released Samyūn,[177] the emissary of the king of the Byzantines, while the Byzantines simultaneously released Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī,[178] the Muslim emissary who had been dispatched to the ransom negotiations. The amīr (Aḥmad b. Ṭughān) and those with him then returned.[179]

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173 All those who were called upon to attend were no doubt expected to make contributions toward the redemption of the prisoners.

174 Also al-Lāmis. The Lamos, a river in Cilicia, flows into the Mediterranean between ancient Soloi and Elaiusa, according to Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Lamos. Apparently there was also a town of that name, located on the river near the Mediterranean coast. According to Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 177f. (Canard, *Sources arabes*, 401), the location of the ransom negotiations was thirty-five *mīl* (seventy km) from Ṭarsūs. See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 44, and text below, n. 835; *EI*[2], s. v. Lamas-ṣu.

175 A *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq. See text above, III, 2132; for his death in 286 (899), see text below, 2190.

176 R: "2,534," which may be correct against all the contrary evidence (Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī; Ibn al-Athīr; Canard, *Sources arabes*, 167).

177 Both R and C indicate *n* instead of *y*, but Symeon is the name that immediately suggests itself. Samonas (see above, n. 164) is hardly a possibility,

178 Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Thaghrī or al-Adhanī, a Baghdadi ḥadīth scholar, who died in Adana or Ṭarsūs in Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 292 (August-September, 905). See Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XIV, 227f. He was no doubt a member of the Adana family to which the prominent ʿAdī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī belonged (see below, n. 965).

179 The foregoing does not seem to be a literal quotation of the dispatch which apparently ends at this point.

In this month, after his return from the ransom negotiations, Aḥmad b. Ṭughān reportedly left (Ṭarsūs) by sea. He left Damyānah[180] behind to take care of his administrative functions there. He then sent Yūsuf b. al-Bāghmardī[181] to take charge of Ṭarsūs after him. Aḥmad himself did not return to Ṭarsūs.

On Friday, Ramaḍān 10, 283 (Thursday, October 21, 896), a dispatch was read from the pulpit of the Friday Mosque of Madīnat al-Salām indicating that on Saturday, Sha'bān 26, 283 (Saturday, October 9, 896), 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf
[2155] had come to Badr and 'Ubaydallāh b. // Sulaymān to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct. He had come declaring his complete obedience, submissiveness, and loyalty to the Commander of the Faithful, and expressing his willingness to go with them to the Caliph's court. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān had gone to him and having met him, had taken him to Badr's tent where he had exacted the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful from him and from his household and his men. Badr had bestowed robes of honor upon 'Umar and the chiefs of his household, whereupon they all had gone to the tent that had been prepared for them.[182]

Earlier, Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz had gone to Badr and 'Ubaydallāh ⌜b. Sulayman⌝ to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct. They had turned the administrative functions of his brother 'Umar over to him, on condition that he go out against 'Umar and fight him. Now, when 'Umar came to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct, Badr and 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān told Bakr, "Your brother has now become loyal to the central authorities. We

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180 The vocalization is based on Greek Damianos. He was the page of the eunuch Yāzmān who had switched allegiance to Khumārawayh in 277 (890) and died on Friday, Rajab 14, 278 (Friday, October 22, 891). See text above, III, 2130.

181 Yūsuf (b. Ibrāhīm) b. Bāghmardī was not to replace Damyānah but to strengthen his hand (see text below, 2160f.). "After him" therefore refers to Ibn Ṭughān whose position Yūsuf was to take over as military chief, while Damyānah retained political control. Instead of al-Bāghmardī, Bughāmardī appears in the text below, 2257. However, this may be a different individual. What relationship, if any existed between him and Ja'far b. al-Bāghmardī (see text above, III, 2084) is not clear. See also Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, 298.

182 The contents of the dispatch most likely ends here.

turned his administrative functions over to you, assuming that he was disloyal. Now, it is up to the Commander of the Faithful to decide about your status. Therefore, both of you go to his court!"

ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī was appointed governor of Iṣbahān, ostensibly on behalf of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Consequently, Bakr fled with his men. Al-Muʿtaḍid was informed[183] about this by letter, and he wrote to Badr ordering him to stay put, until Bakr's story and situation could be clarified. Badr remained where he was, while the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān went to Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaḍid in al-Rayy.

Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Abī Dulaf had reached al-Ahwāz, and al-Muʿtaḍid sent Waṣīf Mūshgīr in search of him. Waṣīf left Baghdad on this assignment, going as far as the border of Fārs. He reportedly caught up with Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but he did not attack him. They camped the night near one another. However, Bakr left during the night, and Waṣīf did not pursue him. // Bakr went on to Iṣbahān, while Waṣīf returned to Baghdad. [2156]

Al-Muʿtaḍid then wrote to Badr and ordered him to search for Bakr and his Arab tribesmen,[184] and Badr passed the order on to ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī. Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz composed the following poem:[185]

(1) Keep your blame away from me! This is no time for blaming.
Begone! The scout of blamers has come upon infertile ground.[186]
(2) The shades[187] (of the dark hair) of youth have flown from my temples.
My time of quarrelsomeness and impetuosity is gone.

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[183] R: "Badr informed al-Muʿtaḍid."

[184] Text: *wa-ʿarabihī*; RB: *wa-ḥarbihī*. C remains to be checked.

[185] The poem appears in the edition of Bakr's collected poems, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Sūratī, 1-3 (Delhi 1937). Al-Sūratī's publication, it may be noted, consists of two parts with separate pagination, the first being *Shiʿr al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī* and the second *Shiʿr Bakr*....

The sequence of the verses in the *Dīwān* as compared to Ṭabarī's text is 1-2, 4, 3, 5-7, 9, 8, 14-17, 10-13, and 18-21. The *Dīwān* inserts one verse between verses 2 and 4, one between verses 6 and 7, two after versus 9/8, two or three between verses 16 and 17, two after verse 13, and one between verses 19-20. Only some of the textual variants have been noted here.

[186] See the *Dīwān* and Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVII. Nöldeke's reading is supported by R and C.

[187] Text: *ʿināyāt*; RC: *ghayābāt*.

(3) The friends have thrown their sticks down[188] in the Iraq,
And I have remained the target of events.[189]
(4) The breaking of family ties has thrown rocks at the remote man[190]
And shot him far so as to be far away.
(5) The Arab tribesmen who fled have become distant,[191]
Although I have defended their honor with my sword,
(6) Which holds together their weakened condition,
And with spears, when people were clashing.[192]
(7) I shall crush the rock of a time which has befallen them[193]
In a forceful way that breaks firmly grounded mountains.
(8) I shall hit the pates in defense of their womenfolk,
[2157] As a cook hits an animal destined to be slaughtered. //
(9) And I shall leave those who come to their cisterns
At a place in which to plant their feet.[194]
(10) O Badr! Were you to witness the place where I stand,
While death looks on and the sides of the swords are dripping blood,
(11) You would find it blameworthy to cause me, as you do, the loss of dignity,
And you would be unable[195] to cast off my honor.
(12) You have set me in motion after I was still—You have succeeded only
In setting in motion something as strong as the mountains familiar to the inhabitants of the Tihāmah.[196]

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188 That is, they stay put.

189 This half-verse is transferred in the *Dīwān* to verse 6, where it takes the place of the second half-verse. The *Dīwān* has: "They have stopped in a house to halt and stay."

190 That is, the poet himself who is now in the unhappy situation of the stranger far away from his home and friends.

191 Text: *tashaʿʿaba; Dīwān: takhādhala* "abandoned each other." The easier reading of the *Dīwān* is possibly less correct.

192 See above, n. 189.

193 R: *haddahum* "crushed them."

194 Text: *li-mawāṭi'i*, but a wrong connection with the root *wṭn* (for *wṭ'*) is indicated in all three Ṭabarī manuscripts and is presumably the mistake of Ṭabarī himself.

195 Text: *dhirʿuka*. All three Ṭabari manuscripts read *ʿudhruka*, which seems incorrect.

196 By setting in motion my fortress, you have only succeeded in setting in motion something as powerful as the mountains familiar from the Tihāmah. However, the *Dīwān* has the easier and probably more correct reading *ḥarrakta min qaḍafī jibāla shamāmi*. By setting in motion my hillock, you have succeeded only in setting in

(13) You have tried me, and found me strong,
Tough on every battle day.
(14) Tell the amīr Abū Muḥammad[197] who
Illumines with his splendor the darkest darkness:
(15) You have enabled me to dwell in the shade on top, and I did
In luxurious living and growing power,
(16) Until, when I was debarred from it, there happened to me
What happened, and my days changed for the worse.
(17) I shall indeed be grateful to you for the good things you have done for me,
As long as the grey pigeons coo in the woods.// [2158]
(18) This Abū Ḥafṣ[198] is my support and my treasure
In all untoward happenings and my armament and my chief.
(19) I called him, and he answered me. I shook him
And thereby shook the edge of a cutting sword.
(20) He who wants to close the eyelids when there is a mote in the eye,
Or wants to be humble desires what must not be desired.
(21) He recoils cowardly when he sees the spear pointing
And the swords drawn to hit the pates.

motion the mountain range Shamām(i), located in the territory of the Banū Qushayr or the Banū Ḥanifah and often mentioned in ancient poetry, as indicated in al-Bakrī and Yāqūt (s. v. Shamāmi).

197 The future al-Muktafī, who was mentioned in the text above as being in al-Rayy at the time.

198 For *yadī* "my support," the *Dīwān* has *akhī* "my brother." However this need not mean that "Abū Ḥafṣ" refers to a brother of the poet; it could be a friend. Abū Ḥafṣ is replaced in the *Dīwān* by Abū Naṣr. So far, the individual meant here has not been identified.

Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz mentioned[199] al-Nūsharī's flight before him, and he slandered Waṣīf for drawing back in fear of him, and he threatened Badr, in these verses:[200]

(1) The fair-skinned maidens say: Bakr has changed.
He was together (with us); now he keeps away.[201]
(2) There is no friend like the sword when
A distressing event occurs and there are problems.
(3) They kindled war among us—and he got hot from it.
They then turned away,[202] but where can one flee from it?
(4) They have meant to do evil unto us. This, therefore, is a time
Whose evil has become apparent and is followed by more evil.
(5) Al-Nūsharī has seen, when we met in battle,
Who is the one who flees when the spears are pointed.
(6) He came with a large army, but we undertook
An assault which would make heroes whine.
(7) The standard of Mūshgīr has come to us,
While the swords and lances were becoming moist (with
[2159] blood).[203] / /
(8) My kindness and excessive patience[204] and forbearance
Have deceived Badr. They are deceptive attitudes.
(9) Tough,[205] slender, lean, intensely colored
Reddish brown horses will come to him.
(10) Aggressive lions of the Banū Wā'il
Will compete on them which are like demons.[206]

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199 Text: *yadhkur*; R: *ḥīna*.
200 In the edition of al-Sūratī, 5f., the verse order is the same as in Ṭabarī, but the *Dīwān* has more verses between verses 1 and 2 (two), 4 and 5 (one), 6 and 7(one), 7 and 8 (three), and 10 and 11 (one).
201 Lovers like to be together. They fear most to be separated or to be shunned by their partners. The circumstances in which Bakr finds himself leave him no time for love. Attentive as he was before to girls, he must now perforce keep away from them.
202 Text: *ḥāṣū*; *Dīwān* and RC: *khāmū*. The meaning is essentially the same.
203 The reading of the *Dīwān*: *wa-bilālun rawīna bīḍun wa-sumru* appears also in R (and B). It was possibly substituted for Ṭabarī's original reading (preserved in C) by someone acquainted with the poem.
204 The reading *anātī*, suggested by Nöldeke, is confirmed by R and C and, in fact, is also suggested by B.
205 *Shawāzib*, as in the *Dīwān* and all three manuscripts.
206 *Saʿālī* was used for horses according to a verse quoted in *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s. v. *sʿl*. The ʿIjl, to whom Abū Dulaf al-ʿIjlī belonged, were part of the Bakr b. Wā'il.

(11) I would not be Bakr if I do not leave them talked about,[207]
As long as a star travels and time revolves.

On Friday, Shawwāl 7, 283 (Wednesday, November 17, 896),[208] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib[209] died and was carried in a casket to Sāmarrā the very same day. He had held the post of chief judge in Madīnat Abī Jaʿfar for six months.

On Monday, Shawwāl 25(26), 283 (Monday, December 6, 896), ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Dulaf entered Baghdad coming from Iṣbahān. Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly ordered the high officers to receive him, and he was received by al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh[210] as well as the officers. Al-Muʿtaḍid granted him an audience, and presented him with gifts. He bestowed a robe of honor upon him and gave him a horse to ride with a saddle and bridle adorned with gold. At the same time, he bestowed robes of honor upon his two sons and upon the son of his brother Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[211] as well as two of his officers. He was lodged in the house that had belonged to ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh[212] at the head of the bridge. The residence was refurnished for him.

In this year, a letter which arrived in Baghdad from ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār was read to the officers in al-Muʿtaḍid's palace. It indicated that ʿAmr had attacked Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah and routed him, and that Rāfiʿ was continuing his flight with ʿAmr in pursuit. The battle had taken place on Ramaḍān 25, 283 (September 17, 896). The letter was read on Tuesday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 12, 283 (Tuesday, December 21, 896)// [2160]

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207 That is, his people will become "a story," the subject of conversation, because of his bravery and heroic deeds.

208 The discrepancy in the days of the week shows that something is amiss here, and, in fact, Ibn Abī al-Shawārib's death occurred on the night of Saturday, Shawwāl 10, 283 (Sunday, November 20, 896). See Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XII, 59f.

209 Ibn Abī al-Shawārib's appointment to the judgeship is mentioned in the text above, III, 1907, *sub anno* 262 (875-6). Regarding him see, for instance, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* (preceding note); Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*, II, 71, quoted by Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, II, 185.

210 Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim, d. 291 (904), see text below, 2250; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 46f.; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 345-57.

211 I have no further information on the sons of Aḥmad and ʿUmar.

212 That is, Ibn Ṭāhir.

On Sunday, Dhū al-Qa'dah 17, 283 (Sunday, December 25, 896), a mail pouch from 'Amr b. al-Layth reportedly reached al-Mu'taḍid when he was in the hippodrome. He returned to the Dār al-'Āmmah,[213] and the letter from 'Amr ⌈b. al-Layth⌉ was read to the officers. In it 'Amr stated that he had sent Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Balkhī[214] and another of his officers in pursuit of Rāfi' after he was routed. Rāfi' had reached Ṭūs when they attacked him. He was routed (again), and they pursued him. He reached Khuwārizm, where he was killed. Together with the letter, 'Amr b. al-Layth sent Rāfi''s signet. He also mentioned that he had given the courier a message for the central authorities concerning Rāfi''s head.

On Friday, Dhū al-Qa'dah 22, 283 (Friday, December 31, 896), the letters about the killing of Rāfi' b. Harthamah were read from the pulpits.

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[213] The Dār al-'Āmmah, the outer compound of the great palace complex which was known as the Dār al-Khilāfah, entered through the Bāb al-'Āmmah. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 275; Busse, "Hofbudget," 30f.

[214] I have not found further information about him.

# The Important Events of the Year 284

## (February 8, 897 - January 27, 898)

One of the events was the arrival of the courier of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār with the head of Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah. He arrived in Baghdad on Thursday, al-Muḥarram 4, 284 (Friday, February 11, 897). Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the head exhibited at the Police Station on the East Side until noon; it was then to be transferred to the West Side and exhibited there until night when it was to be returned[215] to the Caliph's palace. When the courier came to al-Muʿtaḍid with the head, a robe of honor was bestowed upon him.

On Thursday, Ṣafar 7, 284 (Wednesday, March 16, 897), fighting took place in Ṭarsūs between Rāghib and Damyānah. The reason for the conflict was reported to have been as follows: Rāghib, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq, had omitted the prayer for Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad and instead prayed for Badr, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, thereby causing dissension between himself and Aḥmad b. Ṭughān. When Aḥmad b. Ṭughān returned // from [2161]
the ransom negotiations which took place in the year 283 (896), he went by sea and did not re-enter Ṭarsūs. Continuing on, he left Damyānah behind to administer affairs in the city. Then, in Ṣafar of this year (March 10-April 7, 897), he sent Yūsuf b. al-Bāghmardī to take his place in Ṭarsūs. When the latter entered the city and Damyānah was strengthened by his presence, people expressed disapproval for Rāghib's praying for Badr, and trouble started among them. Rāghib defeated them and sent Damyānah, Ibn al-Bāghmardī, and Ibn al-Yatīm[216] to al-Muʿtaḍid in fetters.

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215 R: "then it was returned."

216 Presumably, a son (?) of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Yatīm who is mentioned by Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Vollers, 70, l. 21, in connection with events in Ṭarsūs in 269 (882-3). Al-Kindī, *Wulāh*, 317, does not have "al-Yatīm."

On Monday, Ṣafar 19, 284 (Monday, March 28, 897), a mail pouch arrived in Baghdad from al-Jabal with the information that al-Nūsharī had attacked Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf within the borders of Iṣbahān. He had killed his men and permitted the looting of his camp. Bakr had escaped with a few people.

On Thursday, Rabīʿ I 14, 284, (Thursday, April 21, 897), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb on the occasion of his appointment as qāḍī of Madīnat Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr replacing ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib. His jurisdiction included Quṭrabbul, Maskin, Buzurjsābūr, and the two Rādhān.[217] On the very same day, he heard lawsuits in the Friday Mosque. Madīnat Abī Jaʿfar had been without a judge between the death of Ibn Abī al-Shawārib and the appointment of Abū ʿUmar, that is, a period of five months and four days.

[2162] On Wednesday, Rabīʿ I 13, 284 (Wednesday, April 20, 897), // a Christian eunuch ⌜called Waṣīf⌝ belonging to Ghālib al-Naṣrānī,[218] the Caliph's physician, was seized and remanded to

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217 Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad, the son of Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb, is meant here. He was born on Rajab 9, 243 (November 1, 857), and died on Wednesday, Ramaḍān 23, 320 (Thursday, September 27, 932). See Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, III, 401-5; *EI*[2] *Suppl.*, s. v. Ibn Dirham IX; above, n. 104.

All the places mentioned here formed part of the larger surburban area to the north of Baghdad in the Dujayl region between Baghdad and Sāmarrā. For Quṭrabbul, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 50f.; for Maskin, Lassner, *Topography*, 279, n. 11. Buzurjsābūr is identified with ʿUkbarā, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 604, and III, 705. For the two Rādhān, op. cit., II, 729. See also *Eclipse*, I, 193: Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 15; Busse, "Hofbudget," 15.

218 Ghālib al-Naṣrānī had been a physician of al-Muwaffaq since the days of al-Mutawakkil. He gained great wealth as a physician of al-Mutawakkil's family, and his reputation grew when he cured al-Muwaffaq of an arrow-wound. He became one of the prominent members of al-Muʿtaḍid's large corps of physicians. According to *Thābit b. Sinān b. Thābit*, he died in Āmid during al-Muʿtaḍid's stay there between May and early June 286 (see text below, 2186f.). On the occasion of Ghālib's death, al-Muʿtaḍid showed extraordinary consideration for his son, Saʿīd, who also served as his physician. Saʿīd died on Sunday, Jumādā II 24, 307 (Sunday, November 21, 919). See Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn*, I, 230f.

In view of Ghālib's close relationship to the Caliph, the event, which caused a considerable stir (see below, n. 222), was obviously most embarrassing to al-Muʿtaḍid, and it is no wonder that every attempt was made to cover it up.

prison. Witnesses testified that he had slandered the Prophet. The day after the eunuch was incarcerated, some of the general populace gathered on his account. They shouted at al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh and demanded of al-Qāsim that in view of the testimony against the eunuch, he should apply the legal punishment to him. On Sunday, Rabīʿ I 17, 284 (Sunday, April 24, 897), the people of Bāb al-Ṭāq gathered at the Baradān Bridge[219] and the adjacent bazaars. They consulted with one another and agreed to go to the Caliph's palace,[220] where they were met by Abū al-Ḥusayn, the wazīr's son. They shouted at him, and he informed them that he had already passed on the eunuch's story to al-Muʿtaḍid *in al-Thurayyā.*[221] Considering him a liar, they called him names and then assaulted his bodyguards and men, who eventually fled before them. They went to al-Muʿtaḍid's Thurayyā palace, but having passed through the first and second gates, they were prevented from entering (into al-Muʿtaḍid's presence). They now assaulted those who were preventing them from entering. Someone came out to inquire about them, and they told him their story. Al-Muʿtaḍid was informed about it in writing, and a number of them were then allowed to enter into his presence. He asked them about the story, and they recounted it to him, whereupon he sent Khafīf al-Samarqandī with them to the qāḍī Yūsuf. He charged Khafīf with ordering the qāḍī to look into the eunuch's case and report the result to him. Khafīf thus went with them to Yūsuf. When they were about to enter the house (of the qāḍī), there was such a turmoil that they almost killed both Khafīf and Yūsuf. Passing through a door and locking them out, Yūsuf managed to escape from them. *In this connection, Ibn Bassām[222] said:

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219 See Le Strange, *Lands*, 206; Lassner, *Topography*, index (Qanṭarat al-Baradān).

220 Text: *bāb*; RC: *dār*. Abū al-Ḥusayn is al-Qāsim.

221 The Thurayyā was one palace in the great complex known as the Dār al-Khilāfah, see Lassner, *Topography*, index.

222 Ibn Bassām is the well-known poet and perennial satirist Ibn Bassām al-Bassāmī, d. 302 or 303 (914-5). See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 589. While the wazīr's family was of Christian origin, the reference to al-Qāsim's father ʿUbaydallāh as a Christian merely shows the prejudice of the satirist and his environment.

Al-Qāsim's concern for the eunuch
Shows the religion of the father of al-Qāsim.

If the person slandered had been ʿĪsā, one would not have
Been satisfied with anything but killing the slanderer.*

After that, the eunuch was no longer mentioned, and the
[2163] populace no longer gathered in connection with his case. / /

Also in Rabīʿ I 284 (April 9-May 7, 897), some inhabitants of Ṭarsūs reportedly went to the central authorities with the request that a governor be appointed for them, mentioning that their city was without one. Ṭarsūs had earlier been in the hands of Ibn Ṭūlūn, but he treated them badly, so that they drove his agent out of the city.[223] Ibn Ṭūlūn corresponded with them about the matter and promised them better treatment, but they refused to let any page of his enter their city. They said that they would fight anyone coming on his behalf. He therefore left them alone.

On Thursday, Rabīʿ II 26, 284 (Thursday, June 2, 897), darkness reportedly fell upon Egypt, and there was a redness on the sky which was so strong that when someone looked someone else in the face, the face looked red to him. It was the same with walls and other things. This lasted from the afternoon prayer to the second evening prayer. Leaving their residences, people prayed to God and beseeched Him.[224]

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[223] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 13.

[224] The same event is described in more detail by Eutychius, *Annales*, 72f. He dates it "on the night of Thursday, Rabīʿ I 28, 284 (Thursday, May 5, 897), on the Christian holiday of the ascension of our Lord Christ into Heaven." May 5 of that year was in fact Ascension Day, and the Christian Egyptian historian can be trusted to have preserved the correct date. Note that Ṭabarī indicates the correct day of the week. He possibly noted down the date of the event and the date when the news of it reached Baghdad, and the error occurred when the work was made ready for publication.

After his reference to this event, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 113, adds: "In this year, ʿAmr b. al-Layth sent a million dirhams for improvements on the Mecca Road, as stated by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī." The reference to Ṭabarī is either misplaced and belongs to the statement on the atmospheric phenomenon in Egypt, or *qālahū* should be *qāla* and introduces the following brief summary of al-Muʿtaḍid's planned action against supporters of the Umayyads. The statement probably does not go back to a recension of Ṭabarī's work.

On Wednesday, Jumādā I[225] 3, 284 (Wednesday, June 8, 897), corresponding to Ḥazīrān 11 (June 11),[226] it was announced in the quarters and bazaars of Baghdad that it was forbidden to kindle bonfires on New Year's eve and to pour water (upon passersby) on New Year's Day. The announcement was repeated on Thursday (June 9), but on Friday[227] evening, it was announced at the office (*bāb*) of Saʿīd b. Yaksīn,[228] the chief of police on the East Side of Madīnat al-Salām, that the Commander of the Faithful had given permission for people to kindle bonfires and pour water. At this, the populace exceeded the bounds of propriety and reportedly[229] poured water even upon the policemen at the Police Station at the Bridge. *This was one of Islam's greatest troubles ever and was most reminiscent of the Antichrist and his companions. Moreover, it was an open show of despicable disloyalty.*[230]

In this year, the populace, whenever they saw a black eunuch, became fond[231] of shouting, "O // ʿ*aqīq*!"[232] That made the [2164] eunuchs angry. Now, on a Friday evening, al-Muʿtaḍid sent a black eunuch with a note to Ibn Ḥamdūn al-Nadīm.[233] When the eunuch reached the head of the Bridge on the East Side,

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225 R: "Jumādā II," which is in error.
226 This should be Ḥazīrān 8 (June 8). The error was caused by the fact that the New Year's Day itself fell on Ḥazīrān 11.
227 RC: "Thursday."
228 RC: "Taksīn." For Ibn Yaksīn, see text above, III, 1838. He was governor of al-Ahwāz in 256 (870).
229 It seems that R had "reportedly" after the following addition.
230 R: *wa-kāna dhālika min aʿẓam fitan al-Islām wa-ashbah shay' bi-al-dajjāl wa-aṣḥābihī maʿa iẓhār al-munkar wa-al-maʿāṣī*. The first five words are also found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 171, 11. 6f. The statement seems a gross exaggeration. Perhaps Ṭabarī himself toned it down during his lifetime.
231 Text: *ughribat*; R clearly indicates *ughriyat*.
232 Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 180, ed. Pellat, V, 161, refers to an alleged extension of the taunt, which is clear in its sexual innuendo. However, as far as I know, the significance of ʿ*aqīq* is still unexplained. Even if ʿ*aqīq* could have the same meaning as ʿ*āqq* "disobedient son," it is quite uncertain whether this could mean that a eunuch cannot fulfill his father's desire for grandchildren. Perhaps, ʿ*aqīq* is to be understood in its ordinary meaning of "ruby" (a dark red) and refers to the physical deformity or scar caused by castration, or it is a slave name like Yāqūt. See Mez, *Renaissance*, 335.
233 ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāwūd b. Ḥamdūn belonged to a well-known family (see *EI*², s. v. Ibn Ḥamdūn) of boon-companions and is often mentioned in the literature about this period. See also Rosenthal, *Sarakhsī*, 24, 26, 28. ʿAbdallāh died in 309 (921-2) (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, XI, 144).

someone in the crowd taunted him, "O *ʿaqīq*!" The eunuch cursed the man and whipped him. A crowd gathered, and knocked the eunuch off his feet, and beat him. The note he had with him was lost. Returning to the Caliph, the eunuch told him how he had been treated, whereupon al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the eunuch Ṭarīf al-Makhladī[234] to ride out and arrest and flog anybody who would take liberties with the eunuchs. On Saturday, Jumādā I 13, 284 (Saturday, June 18, 897), Ṭarīf rode out with a number of horsemen and foot soldiers. He had a black eunuch walk in front of him. Under orders to arrest anyone who would shout at a eunuch, "O *ʿaqīq*!," he reached Bāb al-Ṭāq, where he reportedly arrested seven persons; one of them was reportedly innocent.[235] They were flogged in the Police Station on the East Side. Ṭarīf then crossed the Tigris and went to al-Karkh, where he did the same thing. He seized eight[236] persons and had them beaten in the Police Station in al-Sharqiyyah.[237] All those people were paraded on camels, and it was announced that this was the punishment for those who took liberties with the Caliph's eunuchs and taunted them, "O *ʿaqīq*!" They were detained for the day and released at night.

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh planned to have Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān cursed from the pulpits. He ordered the drafting of a document to this effect, to be read in public. ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb warned him that the populace might be disturbed and that he could not be sure that there would not be trouble. Al-Muʿtaḍid, however, paid no attention to what ʿUbaydallāh said.[238]

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234 No further information about him could be found.

235 *Barī'an* "innocent" offers a plausible reading. Other readings are *bazzīyan* or *badhī'an* "lewd" (the latter suggested by von Kremer). It seems highly dubious that **bazzīyan* could be equated with *bazzāz* and mean "cloth merchant." At any rate, it is not clear why either "cloth merchant" or "lewd" should be mentioned in the context. The former might indicate that even respectable individuals of good social standing were involved, but the latter should have some specific meaning here to warrant reference to it.

236 Text: "five"; RC: "eight."

237 For al-Sharqiyyah, see Lassner, *Topography*, index.

238 Although ʿUbaydallāh eventually signed the document, it is doubtful whether he had much of a say in drafting it.

Reportedly, the first thing // al-Mu'taḍid did in this connection was to give orders that the populace be told to stick to their business and not to gather nor cause dissension[239] nor give testimony before the central authorities, unless[240] they were asked to testify as witnesses (regarding some matter). The storytellers, too, were to be prevented from sitting in the roads.[241] Documents were produced to be read on both sides of Madīnat al-Salām in the quarters, neighborhoods, and bazaars. They were read on Wednesday, Jumādā I 24, 284 (Wednesday, June 29, 897). Then, on Friday, Jumādā I 26, 284 (Friday, July 1, 897), the storytellers were prevented from sitting in the two Friday Mosques.[242] Groups studying legal opinions and other people were also prevented from sitting in the two Friday Mosques, and vendors were prevented from sitting in their stalls. In Jumādā II, 284 (July 6-August 3, 897), it was announced in the Friday Mosque that people were forbidden to gather around storytellers and other people, and the storytellers and study groups were prevented from holding sessions (there). On Jumādā II 11, 284 (July 16, 897), which was a Friday,[243] it was announced in the two Friday Mosques[244] that people who gather for discussion or disputation no longer enjoy legal protection, and whoever does so makes it legally permissible for him to be beaten. Drinkers and waterboys in the two Friday Mosques were told not to use the formula "May God have mercy upon Mu'āwiyah!" nor to say anything ⌜good⌝ about him.[245] [2165]

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[239] Text: *al-qaḍiyyah*. Read *al-ʿaṣabiyyah* "the unchecked partisan spirit leading to conspiracy against the government and dissension among the contending groups." *Al-ʿaṣabiyyah* appears in all the sources including manuscripts R and C. *Al-qaḍiyyah*—in the sense of "going to court (?)"— is dubious in any case. The following remark about "testimony" perhaps means making demarches to the authorities.

[240] Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 2, suggests: "and not to testify."

[241] The streets served as gathering places for the audiences of storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*). See also text above, III, 2131. R has "road" in the singular.

[242] Text: *jāmiʿayn*; R: *jānibayn* "both sides (of Baghdad)." which has some support in *al-ʿUyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 152, l. 3, ed. Saʿīdī, I, 87.

[243] That is, July 15.

[244] R again has "both sides," while Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, v, 3, has "on both sides and in the two Friday Mosques."

[245] We are told that ʿAbdallāh, the son of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, as a small child, heard servants in the mosque of al-Ruṣāfah offering people iced water to drink with the words, "Drink for the love of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān!" See Zayyāt, "*Tashayyuʿ*."

People reported the rumor that the document cursing Muʿāwiyah, which al-Muʿtaḍid had ordered to be drafted, would be read from the pulpit after the Friday prayer. When they had performed the Friday prayer, they hastened to the prayer enclosure to hear the document read. However, it was not read.

Al-Muʿtaḍid had reportedly ordered that the document cursing Muʿāwiyah which had been drafted on orders of al-Ma'mūn be
[2166] taken out of the archive for him, and this was done.[246] // A synopsis of it was used for preparing the copy of the following document drafted for al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh:[247]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praised be God, exalted, great, kind, wise,[248] powerful, and compassionate, Who stands alone in uniqueness, Who is resplendent[249] in His power, Who creates by His will and wisdom, Who knows the designs[250] of the breast and the secrets of the heart! Nothing seen is concealed from Him.[251] No speck of dust escapes Him in the heavens high above and the earths deep below.[252] "He knows everything,"[253] "has the

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Zayyāt quotes as his source Ibn al-Najjār's *Dhayl of the History of Baghdad.* It appears there in the biography of a certain ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Kayyis [which is expected to be included in the forthcoming second volume of the *Dhayl* published in Hyderabad 1398ff. (1978ff.)]. I owe this reference to Glagow, 191, who discusses the possible significance of the story. It would seem that these activities in the mosques are indicative of the skill and financial capability of the pro-Umayyad faction that sponsored them, and if they continued to the time of al-Muʿtaḍid, they may explain his desire to do something about them (see below, n. 333).

246 For the likelihood of the existence of such a document, see Glagow, 187, and text above, III, 1098; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 90-93, ed. Pellat, IV, 338f. See also Pellat, "Culte de Muʿāwiya," 53-66.

247 As stated above, n. 238, ʿUbaydallāh presumably did not draft the document himself. In his *History of al-Muʿtaḍid*, ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr states that Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī was connected with the drafting of the document. See Rosenthal, *Sarakhsī*, 53. A complete annotated translation of the document may be found in Glagow, 166-80.

248 R: "great, noble, kind."

249 R: *al-qāhir* "overwhelming."

250 R: *sarā'ir* "secrets," similar, it seems, to the reading *al-asrār* in C.

251 See Qur. 69:18. The allusions to Qur'ānic phraseology are more extensive than is indicated here in the notes.

252 See Qur. 34:22.

253 Qur. 65:12.

number of everything,"[254] and has set a term for everything. He is "all-knowing and all-informed."[255]

Praised be God Who has produced His creatures for the purpose of worshiping Him and has created His servants for the purpose of knowing Him on the basis of His previous knowledge of who will obey Him, and of his past command about who will disobey Him! Thus He had made it clear what they could attempt and what they were to fear. He has laid out for them the ways of salvation and warned them against the paths of perdition. He put proof behind them and excuse in front of them.[256] He chose for them His religion ⌜which He approved for them and⌝ with which He honored them. He has made those who seek their support and strength in Him His loyal and obedient friends and those who turn away from Him and oppose Him His disloyal and sinful enemies, "so that those who perish perish on the basis of clear evidence, and those who live live on the basis of clear evidence. God hears and knows."[257]

Praised be God Who singled out His Messenger Muḥammad from all creatures. He chose him to bring His message and sent him with right guidance and the approved religion to all His servants. He revealed the // clear and distinct Book to him and announced to him victory and success. He strengthened him with might and firm[258] evidence. He thus guided through him those whom He guided, saved from blindness those who responded to him, and led astray "anyone who turns backward."[259] Eventually God made his position manifest and his victory mighty. He subdued those who opposed him. He fulfilled His promise to him, made him the seal of His messengers, and had him die as the transmitter of His command, the conveyor of His message and the advisor of His community, accepted and guided to [2167]

254 Qur. 72:28.
255 Qur. 66:3. R substitutes "all-wise" for "all informed," thus quoting Qur. 66:2.
256 In keeping with the Qur'ānic usage of *ḥujjah* and *ma'dhirah*, this, I believe, means that Muslims have proof of the divine truth to back them up and must defend it in order to have an excuse in the case of failure.
257 Qur. 8:42.
258 R: *al-mubīn* "clear."
259 Qur. 70:17.

the noblest point of return for those who turn back (to Paradise),[260] and the highest station of His prophets who were sent as messengers, and of His blessed servants. God's best and most perfect, greatest and mightiest, most sincere and purest prayer upon him and upon his good family!

Praised be God Who made the Commander of the Faithful and his rightly guided and directed forebears the heirs of the Seal of the prophets and Lord of the messengers! He has put them in charge of the religion of Islam, charged them with setting straight God's believing servants, and entrusted them with the preservation of the pledges of wisdom and the heritage of prophethood. He has made them vicegerents in the community and helped them with might and protection, inspired support and superiority, until God gives victory to His religion over all others, even though the polytheists disapprove.

The Commander of the Faithful has learned that a number of ordinary people have been beset by doubt in their religious beliefs and have been affected by corruption in their faith. Their religious views[261] have become dominated by a bias which they express verbally without any knowledge and reflection, and with respect to which they follow false leaders without evidence and insight and set innovative religious views against established rules. God says: "Who is in greater error than he who follows his desire[262] without right guidance from God? Indeed, God does not guide aright
[2168] people who do wrong."[263] // In doing so, they have left the community and rushed headlong into rebellion. They prefer discord and break up the Muslim cause. They show open friendship for one[264] whom God cut off from friendship, severed from divine protection, drove out of the religious community, and made it necessary to curse. They declare

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[260] R: *al-muttaqīn* "those who fear God."

[261] *Ahwā'* "desires" lead away from true belief to sectarian views.

[262] See the preceding note.

[263] Qur. 28:50.

[264] It is not always clear whether the singular or the plural is intended. The reference here is to Muʿāwiyah rather than the Umayyads in general. The ambiguity serves the purpose of suggesting that there is no real distinction between the individual and the group.

reverence for "the accursed tree,"[265] the Umayyads whose right God has diminished, whose position He has weakened, and whose support He has softened. They thereby oppose one[266] from the people of the house of blessing and mercy[267] through whom God has saved them from perdition and showered them with favors. God says: "He singles out for His mercy whomever He wishes. God possesses great excellence."[268]

The Commander of the Faithful takes a very serious view of what he has learned. He considers a failure to express his disapproval as harmful to himself regarding the religion of Islam, as detrimental to the Muslims whose affairs God has entrusted to him, and as a neglect of the duty imposed upon him by God to set straight opponents, inform the ignorant, establish proofs against doubters, and control the obstinate.

The Commander of the Faithful refers you, good people, to the fact that when God sent Muḥammad with His religion and ordered him to come forth with His command, Muḥammad began with his own family and tribe. He called them to his Lord, warned them and gave them glad tidings, advised them and guided them. Those who responded to him, believed what he said, and followed his command were a few persons from his own immediate family. Some of them believed in the message he brought from his Lord, while others supported him, even if they did not follow his religion, because they thought highly of him and had compassion for him. This happened because of God's past knowledge of those of them whom He chose and whom it was His will to invest with His vicegerency. He educated his family, and there were those of them who were believers eager to fight

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[265] Qur. 17:60. See also below, nn. 277 and 283, and text above, III, 706. Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, XV, 73f., as well as other Qur'ān commentaries such Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, 323f., makes no reference whatever to the Umayyads in connection with this verse. It deserves notice that Ṭabarī rejected all these Qur'ānic interpretations given here. If he had been asked (and he was, after all, famous for his Qur'ānic commentary published many years earlier), he would, as a scholar, have had to contest vigorously most of the interpretations offered here. This would not have endeared him to the government.

[266] See above, n. 264. Here the allusion is to the Prophet and the ʿAbbāsids.

[267] R: *al-ḥikmah* "wisdom."

[268] Qur. 3:74.

vigorously, and those who were unbelievers eagerly giving
[2169] him zealous support.[269] They repelled // those who thwarted him, and subdued those who were hostile to him[270] and opposed him. They secured for him those who assisted and supported him, and asked those who generously aided him to give allegiance to him. They acted as spies for him among his enemies and intrigued for him in secret as well as in the open.[271] Eventually, the goal was reached and the time of right guidance arrived. Then they accepted the religion of God and obedience to Him, while believing in his Messenger and having faith in him with the most assured insight and the best guidance and desire. As a consequence, God made them the people of the house of mercy and the people of the house of the religion of Islam, whom He has cleansed thoroughly of all filth. He has made them the mine of wisdom, the heirs of prophecy, and the proper place for the caliphate. He made virtue necessarily theirs and made loyalty to them incumbent upon all human beings.

The large majority of the Prophet's tribe rebelled against him. They were hostile to him, considered him a liar, and fought him. They met him with criticism and the accusation of being a liar. They went to him in order to ⌈harm and⌉ frighten him, manifested hostility toward him, and instituted warfare against him. They kept away from those who wished to join him and inflicted punishment upon those who followed him. His most hostile opponent among those people and the first among them in every war and conflict, who, whenever a banner was raised against Islam, was its master, leader, and chief in every locale where there was war—Badr, Uḥud, the Trench, and the Conquest of Mecca—was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and his Umayyad partisans.[272]

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[269] R: *wa-addaba banīhi fa-mu'minuhum mujāhid bi-baṣīratihī wa-kāfir mujāhid bi-nuṣratihī wa-ḥamīyatihī*. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVIII.

[270] Text: *wa-yanharūna man ʿārahū* "repelled those who injured him" (?). Read as in R: *wa-yaqharūna* (also in BC) *man ʿādāhu*.

[271] Glagow, 170, n. 1, cites as an example the report in Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 203 f., that al-ʿAbbās informed the Prophet about the expedition that led to the battle of Uḥud.

[272] That is, the Umayyad Shīʿah. Abū Sufyān died at a very advanced age about the year 32 (652).

They were cursed in the Book of God and then by the Prophet expressly in a number of places and passages, because of God's past knowledge of their position, their hypocrisy, and their unbelieving masterminds.[273] Abū Sufyān fought eagerly, resisted vehemently, and continued acting hostile, // until he was subdued by the sword and God's [2170] cause was triumphant to their displeasure.[274] He professed Islam without caring for it, concealing unbelief that he did not give up. The Messenger of God as well as the Muslims knew him to be such a person and clarified[275] for him the category of "those whose hearts are won,"[276] and thus accepted him and his children in full knowledge (of their worthlessness).

The statement in which God cursed the Umayyads through His Prophet orally and by way of revealed scripture is: "... The tree accursed in the Qur'ān. We shall frighten them, but it only greatly increases their rebelliousness."[277] Nobody denies that the Umayyads are meant here.

Then there is the statement of the Messenger when he saw Abū Sufyān coming upon a donkey,[278] with Muʿāwiyah and his son Yazīd[279] driving it: "May God curse the leader, the rider, and the driver!"

There is also the statement of Abū Sufyān reported by the transmitters: "O Banū ʿAbd Manāf, catch it like a ball, for there is no Paradise or Hell."[280] This is pure unbelief. On

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[273] In connection with "masterminds" (*aḥlām*), a footnote in the Leiden edition of the text refers to Qur. 52:32, where *aḥlām* is explained as *ʿuqūl* with reference to the Qurayshite leaders. See the commentaries such as Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 17f., or Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād*, VIII, 54.

[274] See Qur. 9:48.

[275] RC: *bayyana*.

[276] Qur. 9:60. The expression, which the commentators apparently no longer understood fully, was taken to refer to a mixed bag of Muslims and non-Muslims, among them, in the first place, Abū Sufyān, See, for instance, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, X, 98f.

[277] Qur. 17:60 (see above, n. 265).

[278] R: *rākiban* "riding" (for "upon a donkey").

[279] Arabic syntax strongly suggests that the Yazīd meant here is the son of Muʿāwiyah, although Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah was born long after the Prophet's death. The well-known son of Abū Sufyān, Yazīd al-Khayr, seems totally out of place in this context. He appears often together with his father Abū Sufyān, and this may somehow have produced the story mentioned here. The possibility that the son of Muʿāwiyah was meant here with little regard for history, cannot be completely ruled out. The solution to the problem depends on locating further references to the story.

[280] "It" refers to this world or to rulership. See Glagow, 171.

account of it, God's curse will befall him as it did "the Israelites who were unbelievers through the mouth of David and ʿĪsā b. Maryam. That is because they were sinners and transgressors."[281]

There is also the reported fact that Abū Sufyān, after he had gone blind, stood at the mountain road of Uḥud and said to his guide, "Here we trampled upon Muḥammad and his companions."[282]

There is also the dream seen by the Prophet which worried him so much that he was never seen laughing afterwards. God revealed: "We have made the dream which we have let you see but a temptation for the people."[283] In his dream, he reportedly saw some Umayyads jumping on his pulpit.[284]

Then there is the fact that the Messenger of God banished
[2171] // al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ because he imitated him. By virtue of the Prophet's prayer, God made al-Ḥakam a lasting sign, for when the Prophet saw him making his contortions, he said to him, "Be as you are!," and he remained that way for the rest of his life.[285]

And so it went (with the Umayyads), until Marwān later started the first civil war that happened in Islam and became responsible for all the forbidden blood that was shed during it or spilled afterwards.[286]

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281 Qur. 5:78.

282 Read *dusnā*, as in R, no doubt the correct reading. Abū Sufyān lost one eye at al-Ṭā'if, and the other in the battle of the Yarmūk. See Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 97, *sub anno* 31.

283 This is the beginning of the verse on the "accursed tree," Qur. 17:60. In the commentaries, the dream is reported as being concerned with people on pulpits, but not necessarily the Umayyads. See, for instance, Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād*, V, 54.

284 "Like monkeys," as one report has it. See Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 96; Maqrīzī, *Nizāʿ*, trans. Bosworth, 76.

285 According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, IV, 513f., al-Ḥakam, a cousin of Abū Sufyān and the father of the later Caliph Marwān, distorted his nose and mouth in order to ridicule the Prophet. Elsewhere, it is said that he imitated the manner in which the Prophet swayed in walking. See Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 95ff.; idem, *ʿIbar*, I, 32; Maqrīzī, *Nizāʿ*, trans. Bosworth, 52f.; Glagow, 172, n. 4.

286 The reference is to the civil war with ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

There is also the statement in the *sūrah* "al-Qadr" revealed by God to His Prophet: "The night of destiny is better than a thousand months"—of Umayyad rule.[287]

There is also the report that the Messenger of God called for Muʿāwiyah to take dictation, but Muʿāwiyah refused to do so, because he was eating. The Prophet then said, "May God never sate his stomach!" As a result, Muʿāwiyah was always hungry and said, "By God, I do not stop eating because I have enough, but because I am unable (to eat any longer.)"[288]

There is also the report that the Messenger of God said, "From this mountain pass, a man from my community is coming up who will be resurrected separate from my religious group." It was Muʿāwiyah who was coming up.[289]

There is also the report that the Messenger of God said, "When you see Muʿāwiyah on my pulpit, kill him!"[290]

Then there is the famous ḥadīth traced to the Prophet who said, "Muʿāwiyah is in a casket of fire in the lowest layer of Hell, calling out: 'O Clement One, O Generous One!' *He is given the answer:* 'Now (you believe), but before you sinned and caused corruption.' "[291]

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[287] Qur. 97:3. The ninety years of Umayyad rule corresponded to about a thousand months. This coincidence was reportedly already figured out by the ḥadīth scholar al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl [d. 167 (783-4)]. He transmitted a statement made to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to the effect that the Prophet dreamed of the Umayyads upon his pulpit in a succession of caliphs; it brought about the revelation of *sūrahs* 108 and 97, in order to dispel the great worry the dream caused the Prophet. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXX, 143. For Ṭabarī, all this was worthless speculation. Understandably, later scholars found it fascinating. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, VII, 331f., begins his commentary on Qur. 97:3 with a heated refutation of it. He also quotes the obvious observation that it would not mean anything if Umayyad rule was inferior to the Night of al-Qadr. This was only to be expected, since the Night of al-Qadr is something so incomparably great and wonderful. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 51f., ed. Pellat, IV, 74.

[288] For Muʿāwiyah as a secretary of the Prophet, see, for example, Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 318. Glagow, 173, n. 1, refers to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (see *Concordance*, III, 59b64). The Prophet sent ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, who was playing with his playmates, to call Muʿāwiyah. ʿAbdallāh came back twice to say that Muʿāwiyah was eating (and not willing to come). In his revaluation of the relationship between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān, Kister, "Muḍar," 265, refers briefly to Muʿāwiyah's appointment as secretary.

[289] I have found no parallel to this report so far.

[290] See Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 231.

[291] Qur. 10:91. The addition of *fa-yujābu* in R has no doubt preserved Ṭabarī's original text. See also Rosenthal, *Sarakhsī*, 53.

There is also his going to war against the most outstanding, oldest, and most famous of Muslims, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. With his false claim, Muʿāwiyah contested ʿAlī's rightful claim. He fought ʿAlī's helpers with his own erring scoun-
[2172] drels. He attempted what he and his father never ceased // attempting, namely, to "extinguish the light of God" and deny God's religion, but "God has no other wish but to make His light perfect, even though the polytheists disapprove."[292] Muʿāwiyah tried to seduce foolish men and confuse the ignorant with his trickery and injustice. The Messenger of God had mentioned the story of the two[293] earlier when he said to ʿAmmār, "The unjust party will kill you. You call them to Paradise while they call you to the Fire."[294] Muʿāwiyah preferred this fleeting world and denied the lasting other world. He left the ties of Islam and declared forbidden blood permissible to be shed, until in his rebellion and on behalf of his deviation, the blood of an uncountable number of the best Muslims was shed, those who were defending the religion of God and supporting His right. He fought against God and strove that God be disobeyed and not obeyed, that His laws be invalidated and not upheld, that His religion be opposed and not practiced, and that the word of deviation triumph and the call of falsehood be raised. But "God's word is the highest."[295] His religion is victorious. His wisdom is followed and is effective. His command is powerful, and the trickery of those who work against Him is defeated and voided. Muʿāwiyah eventually had to shoulder the burden of those wars and their consequences and to take the responsibility for the blood spilled then and the blood spilled afterwards. He followed the ways

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[292] Qur. 9:32, which has "unbelievers." "Polytheists" is found in 9:33.
[293] That is, ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah.
[294] ʿAmmār b. Yāsir died, supposedly ninety- three years old, at Ṣiffīn in 37 (957). See Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 176-82. It was much debated whether the two sentences quoted here really belonged together. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, II, 88f. (*Concordance*, I, 203a29-32). The two sentences together as here but in the third person appear in Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 179f. In R, the first sentence uses the second person, and the second sentence the third person. See, further, Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 338, trans. Guillaume, 299 (the second sentence only).
[295] Qur. 9:40.

of corruption. The resulting guilt, as well as the guilt of those who practice that corruption, will be upon him to ⌜the Day of Resurrection⌝. He declared forbidden matters permissible and deprived people of their rights. He was deceived by (God's) forbearance and cheated by (His) delaying, but God lies in wait for him.[296]

God made it necessary to curse him for killing, while they could offer no resistance, the best of the men around Muḥammad and the men of the second generation and excellent and religious people, such as ʿAmr b. al-Ḥamiq and Ḥujr b. ʿAdī[297] and their like. His intention was to gain might, royalty, and power. However, might, royalty, and power belong to God. God // says: "He who kills a believer intentionally will have Hell as his reward and remain in it eternally. God is angry at him and has cursed him and has prepared a severe punishment for him."[298] [2173]

He also deserved God's curse and that of His Messenger by claiming (Abū Sufyān's paternity) for Ziyād b. Sumayyah[299] in defiance of God, for God says: "Call them after their fathers! This is most fair in the eyes of God."[300] The Messenger of God says: "Accursed is he who claims paternity other than that of his father or aligns himself with others than his masters."[301] He also says: "The child belongs to the bed, and

296 See Qur. 89:14.

297 Of these two ʿAlid partisans, Ḥujr was the more important. He appears in all the histories of the period and all reference works. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Kister, IVA, 211-36, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, IV, 1, 242-71; for ʿAmr, see op. cit., ed. Kister, 236f., ed. ʿAbbās, 242f. ʿAmr was on Ḥujr's staff. He was killed in 50 (670), or 51 (see text above, II, 118ff.). The date of 51 (671) apparently goes back to Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. ʿUmarī, 107, 136, ed. Zakkār, I, 235, 306. However, in his *Ta'rīkh*, 197, Khalīfah places ʿAmr's death in the year 50. See, further, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1173f.; Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 234 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 23f. Since decapitating defeated enemies and sending the severed heads to the caliph as proof of their death is mentioned so much here, it may be noted that ʿAmr's head was supposedly the first in Islam to be sent from one place to another (a detail apparently passed over in silence by Ṭabarī).

298 Qur. 4:93.

299 Ziyād's father supposedly was a certain ʿUbayd. Sumayyah was the name of his mother. The famous *istilḥāq* of Ziyād b. Muʿāwiyah took place in 44 (664-5), see text above, II, 69f. Ziyād died in 53 (673). On the ʿAbbāsid attitude toward him, see also text above, III, 477ff.

300 Qur. 33:5.

301 This is not one of the traditions to be found in the canonical collections.

to the fornicator the stone."[302] Muʿāwiyah openly opposed the law of God and the practice of His Prophet by making the child not belonging to the bed and the fornicator not being harmed by his fornication. By thus making a claim for something forbidden by God and His Messenger, he exposed the Prophet's wife Umm Ḥabībah[303] and others to shame[304] forbidden by God, establishing a relationship ruled out by God and thus opening up a source of defect and alteration for the religion of Islam without equal, which was outlawed by God.[305]

Furthermore, there is Muʿāwiyah's disdainful attitude toward the religion of God, manifested by his calling God's servants to (acknowledge the succession of) his son Yazīd, that arrogant drunken sot, that owner of cocks, cheetahs, and monkeys.[306] With furious threats and frightful intimidation, he forced the best of Muslims to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd, although he was aware of Yazīd's stupidity and was acquainted with his ugliness and viciousness. He had occasion to observe with his own eyes his drunkenness, immorality, and unbelief. In disobedience to God and His Messenger, Muʿāwiyah had paved the way for Yazīd to take over, and when Yazīd was firmly in control, he sought revenge and retaliation for the polytheists against the Mus-

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302 One of the most quoted and discussed traditions, the second part of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. See *Concordance*, I, 425b.

303 Umm Ḥabībah supposedly died in the year of the *istilḥāq* or before that event. She was a daughter of Abū Sufyān. We are told that she resented the introduction of a stranger, possibly a bastard, into the family and, above all, the intimation that her father was an adulterer, so much so that she refused to receive Ziyād. A natural brother of Ziyād is also said to have been bitter in his resentment. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 526. This picture of the event is approximately the one reflected in al-Muʿtaḍid's document. The true historical situation may have been quite different.

304 "Shame" (lit. "unveiling of faces") does not apear in RC.

305 On the ʿAbbāsid attitude, see also text above, III, 477ff.

306 The cocks were for cock fights, the cheetahs for hunting (see *EI²*, s. v. fahd), and the monkeys for amusement (see *EI²*, s.v. ḳird). No characterization of this sort is found in B, and R has merely "that accursed, filthy person" *(al-laʿīn al-rijs)*. It is difficult to decide what the original reading of the document may have been. It could have been Ṭabarī, or perhaps someone else involved in the transmission of his work, who did some editorial work here, considering one of the readings more suitable as a defamation of Yazīd than the other.

lims. He forced the men of the Ḥarrah[307] to fight a battle more loathsome than any in the history of Islam // and more evil than any with respect to crimes committed against good men,[308]* crimes consisting of bloodshed and the violation of women and property. He then permitted al-Madīnah to be plundered for three days.* He thereby quenched his raging anger. He thought that he had taken revenge on the friends of God and achieved his intention[309] with respect to the enemies of God. He publicly announced and manifested his unbelief and polytheism in the following verses:[310] [2174]

(1) Would that my elders (who fought and died) at Badr
had witnessed
(At Uḥud) the lack of steadfastness of the Khazraj when
the spears fell.
(2) We have now killed their leading[311] lords
And successfully adjusted the inequality of Badr.[312]
(3) They would have broken into shouts of joy,
And then they would have said, "O Yazīd,
don't ask!"[313]

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[307] See *EI²*, s. v. Ḥarra; M. J. Kister, "Ḥarra."
[308] The text suggests rather "on the part of good men" (?).
[309] R: *al-tha'r*, another word for "revenge."
[310] According to the reports on Yazīd's scandalous behavior, he quoted on this occasion verses by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zibaʿrā celebrating the Muslim defeat at Uḥud. For Ibn al-Zibaʿrā, see *EI²*, s. v. Ibn al-Zibaʿrā; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 275f. The first two verses were taken from his poem. See the study of him by Minganti, 354, 340 (n. 2), no. XIII. Among the various authors who cite the poem in this connection are al-Jāḥiẓ, *Nābitah*, in *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. Hārūn, II, 14f. (verses 1, 3, 2); Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIqd*, IV, 390 (1, 3), V, 86 (1), VI, 153 (1); text above, III, 436 (1, 2); al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 331, trans., 328; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 236 (1).

The sequence of the verses in R is 1, 3, 2; B has only verses 1 and 3. Verses 4 and 5 are missing in RB and were added in C in the margin. Thus, they are unlikely to have been part of Ṭabarī's original text and were probably added by someone familiar with and fond of the poem.

[311] The readings differ considerably. Ibn al-Zibaʿrā: *al-ḍiʿf* "twice as many"; al-Jāḥiẓ: *al-ghurr*; al-Bīrūnī: *al-qarn*; *Dīwān Ḥassān b. Thābit*, ed. ʿArafat, I, 68: *al-qarm*; text above, III, 436: *al-ḍiʿf*. The text of the Leiden edition (*al-qarm*) seems to be Ṭabarī's original reading in this passage. *Al-qawm* "people" in the Cairo text may be a misprint. R has *al-niṣf* "half," apparently a corruption of *al-ḍiʿf*, a correction by someone of Ṭabarī's text on the basis of the original poem.
[312] See Qālī, *Amālī*, I, 140f.
[313] That is, everything is all right and needs no further probing.

(4) I shall not be a descendant of Khindif, if I
do not take revenge
On the Banū Aḥmad for what he did.[314]
(5) The Hāshim coveted[315] royalty, although no
News had come and no revelation sent down.[316]

⌜This is straying from the religion of Islam.⌝[317] It is the statement of one who does not care for God, His religion, His Book, and His Messenger. It is the statement of one who does not believe in God and the revelation that has come from God.

Then there is the greatest and grossest turpitude committed by Yazīd: the shedding of the blood of al-Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī and the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah. He slew al-Ḥusayn in spite of the Prophet's great esteem for him and his
[2175] position as a man of religion and excellence // and in spite of the testimony of the Prophet that he and his brother (al-Ḥasan) were the lords of the young men in Paradise.[318] Yazīd was motivated by defiance of God, non-belief in His religion, hostility toward His Messenger, aggression against the family of (the Prophet), and contempt for his dignity. It was as if his killing of al-Ḥusayn and the people of his house was no more than killing Turkish and Daylam unbelievers, so that he did not have to fear revenge from God or watch out for God striking back. But God cut short his life, eliminated him root and branch, deprived him of what he pos-

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314 The woman named Khindif figured as a remote tribal ancestor in the genealogy of the Quraysh and the Umayyads. See Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, tables 1, 3, 4, and 8, also II, 347a. See also text above, II, 1929; Maqrīzī, *Nizāʿ*, trans. Bosworth, 55, 126. Aḥmad refers to the Prophet, and the Banū Aḥmad are the family of the Prophet, as is the Hāshim tribe of the following verse. This reference to the Hāshimites/ʿAbbāsids was naturally particularly galling for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

315 Text: *la-ʿanat*, understanding *ʿanat* in the sense of *ʿuniyat*, "were concerned with"; Nöldeke and van Vloten thought of *laʿibat* "played with." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCLXXXI, DCCXCVIII. *Waliʿat*, in the Cairo text, meaning "coveted," may be just a simplification, if not a freehand correction, but it represents a kind of neutral rendering of the intended meaning and was therefore adopted here; yet, *laʿibat* is perhaps the correct reading.

316 That is, the descendants of the Prophets were not indicated as the rulers of Islam by either tradition or the divine revelation of the Qur'ān.

317 This sentence is missing in R and was added by a later hand in C.

318 See *Concordance*, III, 57b36f.

sessed, and prepared him for the torture and punishment he deserved from God for his sin.

So it went, until the Marwānids changed the Book of God, invalidated His laws, and appropriated God's property and distributed it among themselves.They destroyed His house, declared permissible what God had forbidden[319], and set up mangonels to hurl fire upon it, burning and destroying it without letup. They violated His house, permitting all that God had declared forbidden, killing and harming those who took refuge in it, and frightening away those to whom God had given protection in it. Finally, when the word of punishment came true for them[320]—they truly deserved God's revenge, as they had filled the earth with injustice and hostility and had wronged and oppressed one and all of His servants—God allowed the family of His Prophet and his heirs whom He had destined for His vicegerency to mete out to them what He had allowed their ancestors and forebears, who believed and fought for the faith, to mete out to the early nonbelievers among them. Through them, God shed the blood of those apostates, just as through their forefathers He had shed the blood of the earlier unbelievers and polytheists. God eliminated the root of the wrongdoers. Praised be God, the Lord of the worlds! God gave power to those who had become weak and oppressed and returned // [2176]
to the deserving people their rights, as Almighty God says: "And we want to show favor to those who became weak and oppressed on earth and make them leaders and make them heirs."[321]

Know, O people, that Almighty God has given commands for no other purpose than to be obeyed. He has set up examples to be imitated, pronounced judgements to be accepted, and made it obligatory to hold on to the tradition (*sunnah*) of the Prophet so that it may be followed. Indeed,

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319 *Istiḥlāl ḥarāmihī* appears here to refer specifically to the desecration of the House. R: *ḥaramihī* "its sacred precinct" may be an incorrect simplification.
For the dramatic events of 64 (683), see text above, *sub anno* 64.

320 See Qur. 39:19.

321 Qur. 28:5.

many of those ignorant and wretched[322] people who go astray and then fold up and move on, belong to those whose "rabbis and monks have taken for themselves lords other than God,"[323] although Almighty God has said: "Fight the leaders of unbelief!"[324]

Good people! Get away from what makes God angry at you and turn to what makes Him pleased with you! Be satisfied with what God has chosen for you and adhere to what He has commanded you to do and refrain from what He has forbidden to you! Follow the straight path, the manifest road,[325] and the people of the house of mercy, through whom God guided you in the beginning and saved you from injustice and hostility in the end and through whose dynastic succession He has given you ease, safety, and might and in whose days He has provided for you success in your religious attitudes and in your livelihood! Curse whom God and His Messenger have cursed! Keep away from whom you must keep away, if you want to attain nearness to God!

O God! Curse Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, his son, Muʿāwiyah, Muʿāwiyah's son Yazīd, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and his children!

O God! Curse the leaders of unbelief, the leaders of error, the enemies of the religion of Islam, those who fight against the Prophet, those who change the Laws, those who alter the Book, and those who shed forbidden blood!

O God! We say to You that we have nothing to do with
[2177] befriending Your enemies // and winking at those who disobey You, as You say: "You will not find people who believe in God and the Last Day showing friendship to those who act against God and His Messenger."[326]

O people! Recognize the truth, and you will recognize those who are truthful. Consider the roads of error, and you will recognize those who travel them. For only their deeds

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322 Read, as in R: *wa-al-shaqā'*. The text of the Leiden edition *wa-al-safā'/h* (?) (see also the Cairo text) seems to assume a dubious connection with the root *sfh* "stupid."

323 Qur. 9:31.

324 Qur. 9:12.

325 CB: "roads."

326 Qur. 58:22.

distinguish men, and only their forefathers[327] connect them to either error or righteousness. Thus let nobody's censure affect your attitude toward God! Let yourselves not be turned away from the religion of God by anybody's blandishments or anybody's trickery, or by loyalty[328] to those whose loyalty will lead you to disloyalty toward God!

O people! It is through us that God has guided you aright. We are the ones appointed to preserve God's concerns among you. We are the heirs of the Messenger of God and the ones who are in charge of the religion of God. Thus stay where we put you, and execute what we command you to do! For as long as you obey the vicegerents of God and leaders toward right guidance along the path of faith and the fear of God, you will be all right.[329] The Commander of the Faithful is the one who seeks God's protection for you, and he asks Him to give you success. He prays to God to lead you toward right guidance and to preserve your religion for you[330], until you meet Him with it, deserving His loyalty and enlisting His mercy.[331]

God suffices for the Commander of the Faithful as your (ruler). In Him he places his trust. He asks God for help in your affairs with which He has entrusted him. ⌈The Commander of the Faithful⌉ has no power and strength except through God.

And peace be upon you!
Written by
Abū al-Qāsim ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān
in the year 284/897.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān reportedly called in the qāḍī Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb and ordered him to try everything possible to get al-Muʿtaḍid to give up his plan. Yūsuf went to al-Muʿtaḍid and talked to him // about it, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful! I fear that the [2178]

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327 R: *āthāruhum* "their accomplishments."
328 R: *wa-jānibū ṭāʿata* "and avoid loyalty."
329 R (also C ?) adds *wa* before the following *amīr*, justifying the translation given.
330 Read, with RC: *dīnikum ʿalaykum*.
331 R: "deserving His mercy through loyalty to Him."

populace will be disturbed and that, when they hear this document, a commotion will take place." Al-Muʿtaḍid replied that if there was a commotion among the populace or if they expressed (opposition by gossip and rumors), he would use force against them. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb then asked him in effect what he would do with the Ṭālibids who were ready everywhere to rebel and who were favored by many because of their relationship to the Messenger and their inherited authority.[332] For them this document meant praise. It would make people, when they heard it, still more favorably disposed toward them and make them talk about them and become more and more convinced (of the righteousness of their cause) than they are already. Al-Muʿtaḍid remained silent and made no reply. Afterwards, he gave no more orders with respect to the document.[333]

On Friday, Rajab 16, 284 (Friday, August 19, 897), Jaʿfar b. Baghlaghaz[334] went to ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār, who was in Naysābūr, with robes of honor, a standard signifying ʿAmr's rank as governor of al-Rayy, and presents from al-Muʿtaḍid.

In this year, Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf joined Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ʿAlawī in Ṭabaristān. Badr and ʿUbaydallāh stayed *in al-Jabal* waiting to see how Bakr's situation would develop[335] and trying to improve conditions in the province.

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332 See Nöldeke, *Belegwörterbuch*, 7b.

333 The meaning of the intended action by al-Muʿtaḍid has been much discussed, see Glagow, 165-201. It must have been clear to the Caliph that, in effect, anti-Umayyad feeling went hand in hand with pro-ʿAlid sentiments and that the ʿAlid movement was more powerful and dangerous than any pro-Umayyad activities. Those activities, however, may have offended ʿAbbāsid pride so greatly that al-Muʿtaḍid threw caution to the wind and felt that he had to restate the ʿAbbāsid cause without regard to the possible political repercussions. See also above, n. 245.

On attitudes toward the Umayyads in the ruling circles of the times, a different point of view is provided by Bellamy, "Pro-Umayyad propaganda." For a brief analysis of the event, see Sourdel, "Appels," 124f.

334 See text above, III, 1987.

335 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 4, anticipates here the news of Bakr's death in the following year.

In this year, Qurrah,[336] which is in Byzantine territory, was reportedly conquered by Rāghib, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq, and Ibn Kallūb.[337] This was on Friday, Rajab...[338]

During the night of Tuesday, Sha'bān 12, 284 (Wednesday, September 14, 897)—or, as reported (from another source), during Wednesday night — a specter like a human being with a sword in his hand appeared in al-Mu'taḍid's Thurayyā palace. One of the eunuchs went after the specter to see what[339] it was. The specter struck him // with a blow of the sword, cutting his belt and [2179] making contact with the eunuch's body. The eunuch turned away from the specter and fled as it entered a sown plot in the garden and hid there. The specter was sought all night and the next morning, but no trace of it was found.

Al-Mu'taḍid was worried about it. People hazarded many a guess about what it was, even saying that it was one of the jinn. The specter continued to appear later on many occasions. Al-Mu'taḍid went so far as to put persons in charge of the wall of the palace. He had it ⌈and its top⌉ put in good shape and placed a protective railing[340] on it, so that scaling hooks[341] thrown upon it would not fall upon it (and catch hold). Burglars were brought from prison, and the matter was discussed with them. They were asked whether anyone would be able to enter through a hole or by scaling the wall.[342]

On Saturday, Sha'bān 22, 284 (Saturday, September 24, 897), Karāmah b. Murr[343] sent people in fetters from al-Kūfah, report-

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336 Greek Koron. See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 45. For the passage, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 13.

337 I have not succeeded in obtaining further information about him.

338 The date is left incomplete. R: "on a Friday in Rajab."

339 Text: *mā*; RB: *man* "who."

340 See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CXXX. The reading *barābikh* is confirmed by R. "Pipes" or "tubing" may be a more exact rendering. It was intended to make it impossible for a hook at the end of a rope to be thrown upon the wall and by securing the rope enable a person to scale the wall.

341 R has the plural *kalālīb*.

342 Mas'ūdī's report, in *Murūj*, VIII, 181f., ed. Pellat, V, 161f., is much less precise but dwells on the various disguises of the specter.

343 No further information about this individual seems available. The reading Murr does not appear to be well established here.

edly Qarmaṭians. They confessed that Abū Hāshim b. Ṣadaqah al-Kātib[344] was in correspondence with them and that he was one of their leaders. Abū Hāshim was arrested, put in fetters, and incarcerated in the dungeons.[345]

On Saturday, Ramaḍān 7, 284 (Saturday, October 8, 897), lunatics and exorcists were assembled and brought to al-Muʿtaḍid's Thurayyā palace, because of the specter that was appearing to him. When they were brought in, al-Muʿtaḍid went up to a chamber on the upper floor and observed them. While he was looking at them, an insane woman had an epileptic fit, became disturbed, and uncovered herself. Al-Muʿtaḍid turned away from them in disgust. Reportedly, he had five dirhams given to each of them, following which they were sent back. Before he observed
[2180] them, he had sent / / someone to ask the exorcists whether it was possible for them to find out about the specter that had appeared to him. One of them mentioned that they might cast a spell upon one of the lunatics and, when he fell down, ask the jinnī what the specter was. However, when al-Muʿtaḍid saw the woman have the epileptic fit, he ordered them sent home.[346]

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344 As a suspected inside agent of the Qarmaṭians, this obscure government official (*kātib*) was naturally deemed very dangerous.

345 No doubt, the dungeons that had been constructed by al-Muʿtaḍid and were demolished by al-Muktafī when he came to power (see text below, 2208).

346 Al-Muʿtaḍid, usually described as cruel and brave, appears here as sensitive and fearful of the unknown. This fear may have been based upon very realistic security considerations as well as the danger resulting from rumors circulating widely among the population. Interest in the mystery lasted well into the reign of al-Muqtadir, when the alleged solution came to light. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 172; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, XI, 77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III 114. In the words of Ibn Taghrībirdī: "It was a eunuch who was attracted to one of the slave girls in the residences. Now it was al-Muʿtaḍid's custom to forbid eunuchs when they reached puberty to enter the harem. Outside the residences of the harem, there was a large garden. The eunuch used a white beard. Sometimes he appeared in the form of a monk, and sometimes in a soldier's dress with a sword in his hand. He used a number of beards of different shapes and colors. When he appeared, the slave girl came out with the other slave girls in order to see him, and he would be alone with her among the trees. Whenever a search was made for him, he entered among the trees, took off beard, hood, and so on, hid them, but left the sword unsheathed in his hand to give the impression that he was one of those searching for the specter. Eventually, after al-Muqtadir became caliph and the eunuch was sent out to Ṭarsūs (Ibn al-Jawzī: Ṭūs?), the slave girl revealed his story."

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 284 (November 30-December 29, 897), news arrived at Baghdad from Iṣbahān that al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, who was known as Abū Laylā,[347] had attacked and killed the eunuch Shafīʿ,[348] who had charge of him. Al-Ḥārith's brother, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, had seized Abū Laylā. He then put him in fetters and took him to a fortress belonging to the family of Abū Dulaf in al-Zazz[349] and detained him there. All property, valuable furnishings, and jewels belonging to the family of Abū Dulaf were in the fortress. Their *mawlā* Shafīʿ was in charge of guarding it, as well as the fortress itself, together with a number of ʿUmar's pages and intimates. When ʿUmar sought a guarantee of safe-conduct from the central government and Bakr rebelled against them and fled,[350] the fortress with all it contained remained in the hands of Shafīʿ. Abū Laylā talked to Shafīʿ about releasing him, but he refused, saying that he would do nothing with him or anything he controlled except that which ʿUmar would order him to do.

A slave girl[351] of Abū Laylā reportedly told the following story: A little page was in prison with Abū Laylā to serve him, and another page was there who would go to and from prison to serve Abū Laylā's needs, but he did not spend the night with him as the little page did. Abū Laylā asked the page who went out to serve his needs, to find a way to smuggle a file in. This the page did, by bringing it in with some of Abū Laylā's food. The eunuch Shafīʿ, when he was ready to go to sleep, used to come every night to see Abū Laylā in his apartment. Then Shafīʿ would lock // the [2181]
door ⌈of the apartment⌉ with his own hand and go to sleep, with an unsheathed sword under his bed. Now Abū Laylā asked for a slave girl to be brought to him, and a young slave girl was brought in. It is from this slave girl that Dalfāʾ, the slave girl of Abū Laylā, got this report: Abū Laylā filed through the pin of the fetter, until he was able to get it off his feet whenever he wanted.

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347 See text above, III, 2122.

348 Probably not identical with one of the eunuchs of the same name mentioned in the sources, as, for instance, in the text above, III, 1459, 1684.

349 This reading, suggested in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVIII, appears clearly in Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 4. R: "al-Rayy," is clearly a mistake. For al-Zazz, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 929f.

350 See text above, III, 2154f.

351 Probably Dalfāʾ who is mentioned later on.

She continued: One evening, ⌜the eunuch⌝ Shafīʿ came to Abū Laylā and sat down to talk to him. Abū Laylā asked him to have a few cups with him, and he did so.The eunuch then got up to relieve himself.[352] She continued: Abū Laylā ordered me to make up his bed. He put clothing in the place where a man would ordinarily lie in the bed, and covered it with sheets. He ordered me to sit at the foot of the bed and said, "When Shafīʿ comes to look after me and lock the door and asks you about me, say, 'He is asleep.' " Abū Laylā left the room and hid amid bedding and furnishings in a recessed alcove at the door of the apartment. Shafīʿ came, looked at the bed, and asked the slave girl about Abū Laylā. She told him that he was already asleep, and he locked the door. When the eunuch and those with him were asleep in the house at the fortress, Abū Laylā went out, took the sword from underneath Shafīʿ's bed, and attacked and killed him.

The pages who were asleep around him jumped up frightened. Abū Laylā extricated himself from them, with the sword in his hand, and said to them, "I am Abū Laylā. I have just killed Shafīʿ. You are safe, but I shall kill anyone of you who advances toward me." They opened the gate of the fortress and went out. He went
[2182] to seat himself // at the gate of the fortress. Some people in the fortress gathered. He talked to them, and promised to treat them well and placed them under oath. In the morning, he went down from the fortress, sent for the Kurds and the native Kurdish inhabitants.[353] Bringing them together, he gave them gifts. He then went out against the central authorities. His killing of the eunuch reportedly took place on the night of Saturday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 18, 284 (Saturday, December 17, 897).

According to another version, he slaughtered the eunuch with a knife his page had brought in to him, and he then took the sword from underneath the eunuch's bed and confronted the pages with it.

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352 Lit., "to take care of his needs."

353 For *zumūm*, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, I, 135, n. 130. The distinction between "Kurds" and *ahl al-zumūm* may refer, in a way, to soldiers and civilians, but this is not certain. V. Minorsky suggested reading *rumūm* for *zumūm*; see *EI*², s. v. Kurds, Kurdistān (IV, 450b).

In this year, that is, 284 (897), the astrologers threatened the people by predicting that most climes of the earth would be flooded and that only a small section of the clime of Babylonia would be safe. This would result from a heavy rainfall and rising water in rivers, springs, and wells. It was, however, a rainless year. People saw little rain, and the water in rivers, springs, and wells dwindled to such a degree that people had to pray for rain. They prayed for rain in Baghdad several [354] times. *God proved false the story, the trickery, and the deception of the astrologers as well as the trickery of those who believed them.*[355]

On a Thursday, on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 29, 284 (Thursday, January 26, 898), a battle reportedly took place between ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī and Abū Laylā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf two *farsakhs* (twelve km) from Iṣbahān. An arrow reportedly hit Abū Laylā, piercing his throat. [356] He fell from his horse, and his men fled. His head was taken and brought to Iṣbahān.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd al-Hāshimī, who was known as Utrujjah.[357] // [2183]

[354] R: "many."

[355] The first few words of the addition of R appear also in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 172, 11. 21f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 115, 1. 1. The occurrence was interesting enough to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī to quote (*Annales*, 191).

[356] According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 183, ed. Pellat, V, 162, he was killed accidentally by his own sword.

[357] See text above, n. 31; for his nickname, see above, n. 71. His grandfather, Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, played an important role in early ninth-century politics. His father ʿAbdallāh is mentioned in the text above, III, 1684, *sub anno* 252 (866). See also Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 473.

# The *Important* Events of the Year 285

(JANUARY 28, 898 - JANUARY 16, 899)

One of the events was a holdup of the pilgrims in al-Ajfur.[358] They were attacked by Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik al-Ṭā'ī[359] and a group of the Ṭayyi' on Wednesday, al-Muḥarram 18, 285 (Thursday, February 16, 898). The military leader of the caravan, al-Jinnī the Elder,[360] fought Ṣāliḥ, but the Arab tribesmen defeated the caravan, seizing all the property and merchandise in it as well as a number of free women and slaves.[361] The loot they got from the people was reportedly worth two million dīnārs.

On al-Muḥarram 23, 285 (February 21, 898),*a document* announcing the installation of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār as governor of Transoxania and the removal of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad[362] from this position was read to a group of Khurāsānian pilgrims in the palace of al-Muʿtaḍid.

On Ṣafar 5, 285 (March 3, 898), Waṣīf Kāmah[363] and a number of officers came to Madīnat al-Salām from al-Jabal. They came from Badr, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, and ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān, carrying with them the head of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz

358 One of the locations on the Mecca Road, between Fayd and al-Khuzaymiyyah. It was situated 216 km from Fayd, coming from al-Kūfah after al-Thaʿlabiyyah, and 64 km before Fayd, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 925 (al-Thaʿlabiyyah): II, 440 (al-Khuzaymiyyah); III, 96 (Fayd).

359 For his capture and death, see text below, 2191f. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 191ff,. ed, Pellat, V, 165f., adds the detail that he committed suicide with a knife. Ibn al-Muʿtazz (verses 299-318) deals with this episode and gives a remarkably vivid description of the troubles that were caused for the pilgrims by marauding bedouins.

360 See text below, 2241. He is identical with Jinnī al-Ṣafwānī (see below, n. 789). The form of his name cannot be considered certain.

361 R: *wa-al-mamālīk*.

362 That is, the Sāmānid (see above, n. 9).

363 Waṣīf Kāmah al-Daylamī is occasionally mentioned in the sources, as, for instance, Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, VIII, 121, but little is known about him.

b. Abī Dulaf who was known as Abū Laylā. They brought it to al-Muʿtaḍid's Thurayyā palace. Abū Laylā's brother (ʿUmar) asked al-Muʿtaḍid to give it to him, and he did so. He also asked him for permission to bury it, and he granted that permission . On the same day, robes of honor were bestowed upon ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and a number of officers who had arrived in Baghdad.

In this year, the postmaster wrote from al-Kūfah, noting that on the night of Sunday, Rabīʿ I 20, 285 (Sunday, April 16, 898), a yellowish[364] wind // had risen in the region of al-Kūfah. It [2184] continued to blow until the time of the evening prayer. Then it turned black. All the while, the people humbly beseeched God. Immediately thereafter, it rained heavily with frightening thunderbolts and continuous flashes of lightning. Then, after a while, black and white stones with various shades of coloring,[365] and with a compression in the middle similar to stone-pestles used by perfumers,[366] fell in a village called Aḥmadābādh[367] and the region around it. The postmaster sent along one of the stones. It was sent to the government offices for the people to look at.

On Rabīʿ I 21, 285 (April 17, 898), Ibn al-Ikhshād[368] set out from Baghdad as amīr of Ṭarsūs, together with the persons who had come to Baghdad from Ṭarsūs with the request that a governor be appointed for them.[369]

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364 For the color *aṣfar*, commonly translated as yellow but tending toward light brown, see Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen*, 358ff. The atmospheric events here and a few days later in al-Baṣrah seem related and appear to have been no ordinary dust storms. They may have been triggered by a great volcanic eruption in a remote place.

365 "Colors" could also refer to kinds and shapes. The word is simplified to *al-awzān* "weights" in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Annales*, 146. This reading also appears in the manuscript tradition of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 339.

366 An actual specimen of the perfumers' pestle is needed to understand the word translated as "compression." In Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 339, it is replaced by an equally opaque *ṭabaq*. Most later authors chose to omit it, for instance, Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 2; Ḥamawī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Manṣūrī*, fol. 55b.

367 See text above, III, 1518. The places called Aḥmadābādh mentioned by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 156, are not identical with the one referred to here.

368 His death is mentioned in the text below, 2193. Ikhshād (also text above, II, 1242, etc.) is a variant of Ikhshīd; both forms reflect Ikhshēd. See Meier, "Aussprachefragen," 101f., and, in particular, 105.

369 As mentioned among the events of the preceding year. See text above, III, 2163. For this and the following paragraph, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 13.

On the same day, Fātik,[370] the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, left Baghdad to inspect the situation concerning the officials in Mosul, Diyār Rabīʿah, and the border regions of Syria and al-Jazīrah, and to make improvements with respect to it. This task was in addition to the duties he was responsible for after being put in charge of postal matters[371] in these districts.

In this year, the news reportedly arrived in Baghdad from al-Baṣrah that after the Friday prayer on Rabīʿ I, 25, 285 (Friday, April 21, 898), a yellowish wind arose there. It then turned color, first greenish[372] and then black. Following this, there was continuous rain, the like of which had never been seen before. Then large hail stones fell—a single one weighed (as much as) one hundred and fifty dirhams.[373] The wind uprooted more than five hundred palm trees from Nahr al-Ḥusayn,[374] and a hundred from
[2185] Nahr Maʿqil.[375] //

In this year, al-Khalīl b. Raymāl[376] died in Ḥulwān.

On Jumādā II 5,[377] 285 (June 29, 898), word reached the central authorities that Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf had died of some disease in Ṭabaristān and had been buried there. The person who brought the news was reportedly given one thousand dīnārs.

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid appointed Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj to take over the administration in Ādharbayjān and Armenia. He

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370 Fātik was killed together with the wazīr al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan in connection with the affair of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 5, and the other sources.
371 The head of the postal (intelligence) service was particularly well qualified to investigate official misconduct, which was apparently suspected here.
372 See Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen*, 237. What is described here, is a gradual change in color from light to dark.
373 That is, assuming a weight of 2.97 gram for the dirham, about 445.5 gram or one (American) pound, but, of course, no exact figure was intended, and the weight standard assumed here cannot be ascertained.
374 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 3, 1. 2, reads Nahr al-Ḥasan.
375 Nahr Maʿqil is often mentioned in the text. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 468.
376 See text above, III, 2018, for his appointment as governor of Ḥulwān in the year 268 (881-2). The vocalization of Raymāl seems somewhat uncertain.
377 R: "Jumādā II 24," which is incorrect.

had seized power (in these regions) earlier and then defied (the central authorities). Robes of honor and gift horses[378] were sent to him.

On Sha'bān 3, 285 (August 25, 898), word reached Baghdad that the eunuch Rāghib, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq, had undertaken a sea raid (against the Byzantines). God gave him victory over many ships and all the Byzantines aboard. He decapitated three thousand of the Byzantines who had been in the ships, ⌜and burned the ships⌝. He conquered many Byzantine fortresses. The raiders returned safely.[379]

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 285 (December 19, 898-January 16, 899), word arrived in Baghdad that Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Shaykh had died and that after a power struggle his son, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Īsā,[380] had taken charge of Āmid and its environs, areas which had been controlled by his father.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 19, 285 (January 6, 899), al-Mu'taḍid left Baghdad for Āmid. He was accompanied by his son Abū Muḥammad and the officers and pages. He left the chamberlain, Ṣāliḥ al-Amīn, behind to take his place in Baghdad. He put him in charge of the *maẓālim* courts, the two bridges, and other matters.

In this year, Hārūn b. Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and the Egyptian officers with him sent Waṣīf Qāṭarmīz[381] to al-Mu'taḍid to ask that he peacefully cede to them the areas of Egypt and Syria in their possession, and that the Caliph bestow upon Hārūn the executive powers that had been his father's. Waṣīf came to Baghdad, and al-Mu'taḍid sent him back accompanied

[378] Or, "gifts carried by animals."
[379] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 13.
[380] See text below, 2190f. According to *EI*², s. v. 'Īsā b. al-Shaykh (IV, 90b), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad disappears from view in 297/300.
[381] In the final months of the Ṭūlūnids, at the end of 291 (October-November, 904), Waṣīf Qāṭarmīz attempted to flee from Damyānah at Tinnīs but was eventually captured. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 245f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 146, l. 15. Slightly different spellings of the name are used there, in addition to the final *n* that appears in RC.

[2186] by ʿAbdallāh // b. al-Fatḥ[382] who was to transmit messages to them orally and impose certain conditions upon them.[383] Waṣīf and Ibn al-Fatḥ left Baghdad on their mission at the end of *Dhū al-Ḥijjah of* this year (mid-January, 899).

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 285 (December 19, 898-January 16, 899), Ibn al-Ikhshād led the people of Ṭarsūs and others on a campaign (against the Byzantines). He got as far as Salandū[384] and conquered it. He returned to Ṭarsūs in the year 286 (899).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd al-Hāshimī.

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[382] In addition to the information in Ṭabarī, the house of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ is mentioned by Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 78, *sub anno* 321 (933). He appears to be identical with the person mentioned by Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 44, who brought gifts from Khumārawayh to al-Muʿtaḍid.

[383] As specified in the text below, 2187.

[384] See text above, III, 2130, and below, 2269. Canard, *Sources arabes*, 10, 13, has no comment, but Vasiliev, 122, maintains the old and questionable identification with a locality now called Selindi/Selinti. R: "Samandū." Salandū may, in fact, be a dissimilated form of Samandū which has been identified with Tsamandos on the upper reaches of the Zamanti-su, a tributary of the Sayḥān, see F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien*, 90 f. (Vienna, 1977). See also text above, III, 2130.

# The Important Events of the Year 286

(JANUARY 17, 899 - JANUARY 6, 900)

One of the events was that Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj dispatched his son who was known as Abū al-Musāfir[385] to Baghdad as a hostage. This was to assure the loyalty and sincerity which he pledged to the central authorities. Abū al-Musāfir reportedly arrived in Baghdad on Tuesday, al-Muḥarram 7, 286 (Tuesday, January 26, 899), with gifts of horses, furnishings, and so on. At the time, al-Muʿtaḍid was absent from Baghdad.

In Rabīʿ II, 286 (April 16-May 14, 899),[386] al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh had reached Āmid and encamped with his soldiers to lay siege to the city. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh had locked the gates of the city of Āmid against him and against his partisans in it. Al-Muʿtaḍid had distributed his armies around the city and laid siege to the inhabitants. This took place late in the second half of Rabīʿ I, 286 (first half of April, 899). Following that, battles broke out between them. Mangonels were set up against the inhabitants of Āmid who in turn set up mangonels on their wall, and they bombarded each other.

On Saturday, Jumādā I 19, 286 (Saturday, June 2, 899). Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. // ʿĪsā sent word to al-Muʿtaḍid seeking guarantees of safe-conduct for himself, his family, and the inhabitants of Āmid. Al-Muʿtaḍid granted that to him. On the same day, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā with his men and allies left and went to al-Muʿtaḍid. The Caliph bestowed robes of honor upon him and his ranking men. They then departed for a tent which [2187]

385 Abū al-Musāfir Fatḥ was killed in al-Marāghah in 317 (929). See ʿArīb, 145; *EI²*, s. v. Sādjids.

386 If Rabīʿ II is correct, the first half of this paragraph was presumably taken from some dispatch speaking of earlier events.

had been prepared for them, while al-Muʿtaḍid moved from his camp to the mansions and houses of Ibn ʿĪsā b. Shaykh. Al-Muʿtaḍid reported that in a dispatch to Madīnat al-Salām, dated Sunday, Jumādā I 20, 286 (Sunday, June 3, 899). On Jumādā I 25, 286 (June 8, 899), al-Muʿtaḍid's dispatch reporting his conquest reached Madīnat al-Salām, whereupon it was read from the pulpit in the Friday Mosque.

In this year, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ returned from Egypt to al-Muʿtaḍid, who was staying in Āmid, with replies to al-Muʿtaḍid's letters to Hārūn b. Khumārawayh. He informed the Caliph that Hārūn promised to hand over administrative control of Qinnasrīn and the fortified cities[387] and to send four hundred and fifty thousand dīnārs annually to the treasury in Madīnat al-Salām. He was asking that his rule over Egypt and Syria be reconfirmed and that al-Muʿtaḍid send him one of his eunuchs for the purpose. Al-Muʿtaḍid granted his request and dispatched Badr al-Qudāmī[388] and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ with the (letter of) appointment and robes of honor. They left Āmid for Egypt on this assignment. Al-Muʿtaḍid's officials took over the administrative control of Qinnasrīn and the fortified cities from Hārūn's men in Jumādā II, 296 (May 15-June 13, 899). Al-Muʿtaḍid stayed on in Āmid for the remainder of Jumādā I and through twenty-three days of Jumādā II. On Saturday, Jumādā II 22, 286 (Thursday, July 5, 899),[389] he traveled from Āmid to al-Raqqah. In his place at Āmid, he left his son ʿAlī with troops that he had attached to him in order to secure the region and establish administrative control
[2188] of Qinnasrīn and the fortified cities // as well as Diyār Rabīʿah and Diyār Muḍar. The secretary of ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaḍid at that time was al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī. (Al-Muʿtaḍid)[390] put al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr in charge of affairs concerning the region and of the correspondence with the administrative officials there.

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[387] On *ʿawāṣim* and *thughūr*, see *EI*², s. v. ʿawāṣim.

[388] The vocalization is based upon the assumption that al-Qudāmī was named after a Qudāmah. I have not found further information about him.

[389] If al-Muʿtaḍid stayed in Āmid for twenty-three days, he probably left on Jumādā II 24, which would be Saturday, July 7.

[390] The subject of the verb (which is unlikely to be a passive) could be ʿAlī, but presumably it was al-Muʿtaḍid who made the appointment of the person in charge of supervising the transition from Ṭūlūnid to ʿAbbāsid control.

Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the destruction of the wall of Āmid, and *a portion of* it was destroyed, *while the rest could not be destroyed and was left intact.*

In this year, gifts from ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār reached Baghdad from Naysābūr. The money he sent amounted to four million dirhams. There were twenty horses with ornamented saddles and bridles inlaid (with silver),[391] one hundred and fifty horses with embroidered saddle cloths, garments,[392] perfume, and falcons. This was on Thursday, Jumādā II 21, 286 (Wednesday, July 4, 899).

In this year, a Qarmaṭian known as Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī[393] appeared in al-Baḥrayn. A group of Arab tribesmen and Qarmaṭians had gathered around him, and he emerged as a rebel in the beginning of the year. In Jumādā II, 286 (June 14-July 13, 899), his men grew in number, and he gained strengh. He killed some villagers in the neighborhood, and then went to a place called al-Qaṭīf,[394] located at a distance of several days' journey from al-Baṣrah. There he killed the inhabitants. He reportedly wanted to march on al-Baṣrah. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāthiqī,[395] who was in charge of security in al-Baṣrah and the Tigris districts at the time, informed the Caliph in writing about what he had heard concerning the plans of the Qarmaṭians. The Caliph wrote back, ordering him and Muḥammad b. Hishām[396] who was in charge of administering the charitable foundations, the land tax, and the estates[397] there, to construct a (protective) wall around al-Baṣrah. Expenses for it were estimated at fourteen thousand dīnārs. The expenditures were authorized, and the wall was built.

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391 The list in Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 41, omits this item and the preceding one but has the rest as in Ṭabarī.

392 *Kuswah* or *kiswah* is often used as a collective and also has the approximate meaning of complete wardrobe.

393 One of the important and much discussed leaders of the Qarmaṭian movement, d. 301 (913). See the brief note in *EI*², s. v. al-Djannābī; also text below, 2291.

394 See *EI*², s. v. Ḳaṭīf.

395 For his activities as chief of police in Baghdad in 291, see text below, 2245; ʿArīb, 4.

396 No further information about him seems available.

397 That is, the estates belonging to the Caliph.

In Rajab, 286 (July 13-August 11, 899), a group of Arab tribesmen
[2189] of the Banū // Shaybān reached al-Anbār. They raided the villages, killed the people whom the encountered, and drove away the cattle. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr,[398] who was in charge of security there, went out against them, but he was unable to subdue them. He wrote the Caliph concerning them, and the latter sent Nafīs al-Muwalladī,[399] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zaranjī,[400] and al-Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj[401] with about a thousand men to aid him. They reached the location of the Arab tribesmen and attacked them in a place known as al-Manqabah[402] in the administrative district of al-Anbār, but the Arab tribesmen routed them and killed their men. Most of them drowned in the Euphrates, and they were dispersed.The dispatch from Ibn Ḥājj reporting the battle and the rout of the government force by the Arab tribesmen arrived at Baghdad on Monday, Rajab 24, 286 (Sunday, August 5, 899). The Arab tribesmen stayed on to harass the region and to extort protection money from the villages. When al-Muʿtaḍid was informed in writing about their story, he sent al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī[403] and Khafīf al-Adhkūtakīnī[404] and a number of (other) officers from al-Raqqah to engage them in combat. At the end of Shaʿbān, 286 (September

[398] R: "Kushmard," which is apparently the correct form, as in the text below, 2238. According to ʿArīb, 119, *sub anno* 312 (924), Ibn Kushmard (spelled Qushmard) was captured by the Qarmaṭians and presumably killed. See also Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 57. This makes any speculation as to whether he might be a son of the aforementioned Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr (see above, n. 154) superfluous. But see also below, n. 526.

[399] See text below, 2274, quoted by ʿArīb, 16; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 375, l. 12. During the struggle with the Qarmaṭians, many military leaders on both sides played important but fleeting roles, and there is understandably little information available for them.

[400] See text above, III, 1996, *sub anno* 267 (881). All three Ṭabarī manuscripts have something like al-Zarnījī.

[401] Al-Muẓaffar was governor of Ṭarsūs for a while (see text below, 2222) He was posted to the Yemen in 293 (906) (see text below, 2267, 2280; ʿArīb, 13, 19). He supposedly died there in Rajab, 298 (March, 911). See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 9 (who has Ḥāmid ?); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, *sub anno*. Note that when his brother ʿAjj (ʿUjj) died in 306 (918), a brother of his was appointed to succeed him. See ʿArīb, 76. For ʿAjj, see below, n. 483. The precise form of the name of their father remains somewhat uncertain, as it is pointed in various ways in the manuscripts.

[402] The reading appears quite uncertain. I have not succeeded in identifying this locality.

[403] Al-Ghanawī d. Rabīʿ II, 305 (September-October 917). See ʿArīb, 68f.

[404] I have found no information concerning him other than this text. The Adhkūtakīn with whom he was connected is presumably the one mentioned in the text above, III, 1936.

9, 899), those officers reached Hīt. The Arab tribesmen learned about them and left their location in the countryside of al-Anbār. They moved toward ʿAyn al-Tamr where they set up camp. The officers entered al-Anbār[405] and remained there, while the Arab tribesmen harassed ʿAyn al-Tamr and the region of al-Kūfah as they had the region of al-Anbār. This situation continued through the rest of Shaʿbān[406] and all through Ramaḍān (ending October 9, 899).// [2190]

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid sent word to Rāghib, the *mawlā* of Abū Aḥmad (al-Muwaffaq), who was in Ṭarsūs, ordering him to come to him in al-Raqqah. He came while al-Muʿtaḍid was there. When Rāghib arrived, al-Muʿtaḍid left him alone in his camp for a day, then, seizing him the next day, he incarcerated him and seized everything he had with him. Word concerning this reached Madīnat al-Salām on Monday, Shaʿbān 9,[407] 286 (Monday, August 20, 899). Several days later, Rāghib died. Maknūn,[408] the page of Rāghib, was arrested as were Rāghib's men. Rāghib's property in Ṭarsūs was seized on Tuesday, Shaʿbān 23, 286 (Monday, September 3, 899).[409] The person in charge of seizing them[410] was Ibn al-Ikhshād.

On Ramaḍān 20, 286 (September 29, 899), al-Muʿtaḍid sent Mu'nis al-Khāzin[411] against the Arab tribesmen in the region of al-Kūfah and ʿAyn al-Tamr. He attached to him al-Abbās b. ʿAmr, Khafīf al-Adhkūtakīnī, and other officers. Mu'nis and those with him traveled as far as a place called Nīnawā,[412] where he found

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[405] R: "traveled to al-Anbār."

[406] R: "Rajab and Shaʿbān."

[407] R: "seven."

[408] See text above, III, 2132.

[409] The text has Rajab. This is unlikely because it would mean that the property was confiscated before Rāghib's arrest. Moreover, the indicated day of the week fits only Shaʿbān.

[410] R: *akhdhahū* "seizing it," referring to the property.

[411] R : "Mu'nis al-Khādim." Such a confusion with the later much more prominent Mu'nis al-Khādim al-Muẓaffar (see below, n. 449) could easily happen. Mu'nis al-Khāzin, also known as Mu'nis al-Faḥl (see below, n. 559), died on Sunday, Ramaḍān 22, 301 (April 21, 914, which, however, was a Thursday). See ʿArīb, 45 (where the manuscript reads al-Khādim).

[412] Not the biblical Niniveh but a district in the region of al-Kūfah, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 870.

that the Arab tribesmen had left their location. Some of them had entered the desert of the Mecca Road, and others the Syrian desert. He remained where he was for several days and then went to Madīnat al-Salām.

In Shawwāl, 286 (October 10-November 7, 899), al-Muʿtaḍid and ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān put Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ[413] in charge of the Dīwān of the East,[414] from which Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt[415] was dismissed. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ[416] was put in charge of the Dīwān of the West, from which Ibn al-Furāt was also dismissed.

*Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hāshimī.*

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413 Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, b. 243 (857-8) (see Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 390), d. 296 (908). He was the uncle of the following ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and a son-in-law of the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān. He served Ṭabarī as an important source of historical information, see text above, III, 2198, and below. See *EI²*, s. v. Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, and the work of H. Bowen on his nephew, *The Life and Times of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsà*.

414 The *Dīwān*(s) of the East and the West were the government departments in charge of the tax income from the provinces to the east and the west of the Iraq. The passage is quoted (via Ibn Khaldūn) by Talbi, *Émirat*, 328, in connection with his attempt to define the jurisdiction of the *Dīwān al-Maghrib*. See also above, n. 21, and below, n. 423.

415 D. 291 (904). See *EI²*, s. v. Ibn al-Furāt.

416 For ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [245-334 (859-946)], see *EI²*, s. v. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, and above, n. 413.

# The Events of the Year 287

(JANUARY 7 - DECEMBER 25, 900)

One of the events was al-Mu'taḍid's arrest of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. // 'Īsā b. Shaykh and some members of his family. He [2191]
had them put in chains and imprisoned in the house of Ibn Ṭāhir.[417] The reason reported for this was that one of Muḥammad's relatives had gone to 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān and informed him that Muḥammad was about to flee with a number of his men and his family. 'Ubaydallāh wrote al-Mu'taḍid about this, and the Caliph replied, ordering 'Ubaydallāh to arrest him. 'Ubaydallāh did that on Wednesday, al-Muḥarram 4, 287 (Thursday, January 10, 900).

In al-Muḥarram, 287 (January 7-February 5, 900), a letter reached the central authorities in Baghdad from Abū al-Agharr. It reported that the Ṭayyi' had gathered against him, enlisting the help of the Arab tribesmen that they were able to, and had struck the pilgrim caravan. They attacked the pilgrims some ten *mīl* (20 km) beyond al-Ma'din,[418] while they were returning from Mecca to Madīnat al-Salām. The horsemen and foot soldiers of the Arab tribesmen, with their tents, womenfolk, and camels, advanced toward them. The foot soldiers numbered more than three thousand men. A battle broke out between them and lasted all day long.

417 The house of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir [d. 253 (867)] served for a while as a prison. See text above, III, 2111. The Caliphs al-Mu'taḍid and al-Muktafī were buried there.

418 Among the many "Mines," this one was known as Ma'din al-Nuqrah or al-Naqīrah. Mas'ūdī speaks in this context of some location between Ma'din al-Qurashī and al-Ḥājir, a place before Ma'din al-Nuqrah (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 182). Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 804, also speaks of Ma'din al-Nuqrah as a Kūfan pilgrim station between Uḍāh and Māwān, or as a station on the Mecca Road which was reached from al-Ḥājir, where the roads to Mecca and to al-Madīnah divide. The commentators on Labīd, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, 237, refer to a location "between al-Nibāj and al-Nuqrah."

That was Thursday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 27, 286 (Thursday, January 3, 900). When night fell, the two sides separated. The following morning, Friday, they again engaged in battle, this time from early morning to midday. God then gave victory to His friends. The Arab tribesmen turned back and fled, and did not reassemble after having dispersed. Abū al-Agharr and all the pilgrims then traveled on safely. He dispatched his letter with Sa'īd b. al-Aṣfar b. 'Abd al-A'lā,[419] one of his distinguished cousins; he was the one who had managed the arrest of Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik. On Saturday, al-Muḥarram 27, 287 (Saturday, February 2, 900), Abū al-Agharr
[2192] arrived in Madīnat // al-Salām, parading before him the heads of Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik, Jaḥnash,[420] and a black page of Ṣāliḥ as well as four captured cousins of Ṣāliḥ. Abū al-Agharr went to al-Mu'taḍid's palace where a robe of honor and a gold necklace were bestowed upon him. The heads were displayed at the head of the Upper Bridge on the East Side. The captives were put into the dungeons.

On Ṣafar 25, 287 (March 1, 900), al-Mu'taḍid came to Baghdad from his pleasure resort in Barāz al-Rūz[421] and ordered the construction of a castle in Barāz al-Rūz in a place chosen by him. Implements were taken there, and construction was begun.

In Rabī' I, 287 (March 6-April 4, 900), the Qarmaṭian problem in al-Baḥrayn became grave. They raided the region of Hajar,[422] with some of them coming close to the Baṣrah region. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāthiqi wrote asking for reinforcements, and, at the end of the month, eight barges carrying three hundred men were sent to him. Al-Mu'taḍid also ordered the muster of an army to be dispatched to al-Baṣrah.

On Sunday, Rabī' II 10, 287 (Monday, April 14, 900), Badr, the *mawlā* of al-Mu'taḍid, held a meeting in his house and looked

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419 I have found no further information about him.

420 The form of the name does not appear to be certain. R and others read Juḥaysh, which is a better known name.

421 See text above, II, 906, 909.

422 See *EI²*, s. v. al-Ḥasā, the contemporary name of Hajar.

into the affairs of the inner circle and the commoners, the land tax, the estates, and matters of security.

On Monday, Rabīʿ II 11, 287 (Tuesday, April 15, 900), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib died. He had been in charge of the comptroller's office for the tax revenues of the East and the West.[423] ⌜On Wednesday, Rabīʿ II 13, 287 (Thursday, April 17, 900,)⌝ Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ[424] was put in charge of this office. He went there the very same day and held a meeting. // [2193]

In Rabīʿ II 287 (April 5-May 3, 900), al-Muʿtaḍid put ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī in charge of al-Yamāmah and al-Baḥrayn. He also put him in charge of the campaign against Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī and the Qarmaṭians with him. The Caliph attached about two thousand men to al-ʿAbbās. Al-ʿAbbās encamped in al-Firk[425] for several days, until he was joined by his men. He then went to al-Baṣrah and from there proceeded to al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāmah.

In this year, the enemy reportedly arrived at the Qalamyah Gate of Ṭarsūs. *This was on Thursday, Rabīʿ I 23, 287 (Friday, March 28, 900).* After the death of Ibn al-Ikhshād, Abū Thābit[426] became amīr of Ṭarsūs. Ibn al-Ikhshād had left Abū Thābit behind to take his place there when he went on a raid and died. Abū Thābit marched in pursuit of the enemy as far as Nahr al-Rayḥān.[427] He was captured, and the people with him suffered severe losses. At the time Ibn Kallūb was on a raid in Darb al-Salāmah.[428] When he returned from it, he gathered the elders of the border towns in order to have them agree upon an amīr to take charge of their affairs. They agreed upon ʿAlī b. al-Aʿrābī[429]

[423] See above, n. 21, and Talbi, *Émirat*, 328 (above, n. 414).
[424] He was no doubt the official of the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān mentioned in Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 12f.
[425] Near Kalwādhā. See *EI²*, s. v. Kalwādhā.
[426] I have no further information about him.
[427] I have not succeeded in identifying the location of this river.
[428] See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 86f., who indicates that Darb al-Salāmah is identical with Darb al-Ḥadath. See also Canard, *Sources arabes*, 14, who translates "Pyles Ciliciennes."
[429] I have no further information about him.

and put him in charge after some opposition from Abū Thābit's son. The latter mentioned[430] that his father had appointed him to take his place. He gathered a number of people to fight the local population, until Ibn Kallūb intervened. The son of Abū Thābit then declared himself satisfied. This was in Rabīʿ II 287 (April 5-May 3, 900). At the time, al-Nughayl[431] was on a raid in Byzantine territory; he then returned to Ṭarsūs. It was reported that Abū Thābit and a number of Muslims had been taken from the fortress of Qūniyah[432] to Constantinople.

In Rabīʿ II, 287 (April 5-May 3, 900), Isḥāq b. Ayyūb died. He
[2194] had been // in charge of security in Diyār Rabīʿah. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Haytham b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamir[433] was given charge of his official functions.

On Wednesday, Jumādā I 25, 287 (Wednesday, May 28, 900), a dispatch reportedly reached the central authorities in Baghdad stating that Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad had captured ʿAmr al-Ṣaffār and allowed his camp to be looted. The story of ʿAmr and Ismāʿīl was as follows: ʿAmr had asked the Caliph to appoint him governor of Transoxania, and al-Muʿtaḍid had done so. While ʿAmr was staying in Naysābūr, al-Muʿtaḍid sent him robes of honor and the standard indicating his new rank as governor. When ʿAmr left to fight Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, the latter wrote him, "You are already in control of a wide area, whereas I am in a border region and have only Transoxania. Thus, be satisfied with what you have, and let me stay in this border region!" ʿAmr refused to give in. When the Oxus and the difficulty of crossing it were mentioned to him, he said, "If I wanted to dam the Oxus with money bags and cross it, I would do it."

Seeing no hope that ʿAmr would turn back and leave him alone, Ismāʿīl gathered his men and the small landowners and village chiefs and crossed the river to the west bank. ʿAmr then

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[430] The active seems preferable here to the usual passive "reportedly." See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 14.
[431] See Ibn al-Muʿtazz (verses 355-59) and his contemptuous statement that Nughayl is a misspelling of *bughayl* "little mule."
[432] That is, modern Konya. R: *maʿa man ḥaḍara nawbatahū*, for *min Ḥiṣn Qūniyah*.
[433] RB: "Muʿammar." I have no further information about him.

came and encamped at Balkh. Ismāʿīl cut off the surrounding region to ʿAmr, so that he was, in effect, under siege. ʿAmr now regretted what he had done, and reportedly[434] sought to prevent the outbreak of fighting, but (now) Ismāʿīl did not want that. After just a little fighting, ʿAmr was routed. Turning back, he fled and came to a swamp along the road. Informed that it was a shortcut, he told the rank and file with him to follow the well-marked road, while he himself went with a few people and entered the swamp. His horse became mired in it and fell down. ʿAmr was now at a loss as to what to do. Those who were with him did not remain but left him. Ismāʿīl's men came and captured him. When // the story of ʿAmr and Ismāʿīl was reported to [2195]
al-Muʿtaḍid, he reportedly praised Ismāʿīl and criticized ʿAmr.[435]

On Jumādā I 29, 287 (June 1, 900), word reached the central authorities in Baghdad that Waṣīf, the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, had broken with Ibn Abī al-Sāj and his men and that he had fled from Bardhaʿah to Malaṭyah. He wrote to al-Muʿtaḍid asking him for an appointment as governor of the border regions. Al-Muʿtaḍid wrote to him and ordered him to come to him.[436] (So al-Muʿtaḍid) sent Rashīq al-Ḥuramī[437] to him.

On Rajab 7, 287 (July 8, 900), al-Muʿtaḍid's wife, the daughter of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, died and was buried in the castle of al-Ruṣāfah.

On Rajab 10, 287 (July 11, 900), three persons sent by Waṣīf, the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, came to the central authorities in Baghdad. He had sent them to al-Muʿtaḍid in order to ask the Caliph that he (Waṣīf) be made governor of the border regions

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434 Text: *dhukira*; R: *dhakarū*; B: *dhukira lī*.

435 The passage was quoted by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 426f., under Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaffār. Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., VI, 431, also refers briefly to the paragraph in the text below, 2196f.

436 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 11, adds, probably from a recension of Ṭabarī: "but he took his time."

437 R: "al-Khādim." Rashīq al-Aysar al-Ḥuramī is mentioned in ʿArīb, 184, *sub anno* 320 (932). Rashīq al-Ḥuramī can thus be assumed to be identical with Rashīq al-Aysar. See ʿArīb, 56, 181; *Eclipse*, I, 229, *sub anno* 319. According to ʿArīb, 56, he was related by marriage to Naṣr al-Qushūrī, who was presumably his father-in-law.

and that robes of honor be sent to him. Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly gave orders that the emissaries be made to confess the reason why Waṣīf had separated from his master Ibn Abī al-Sāj and gone to the border regions. Beaten until they confessed, they admittted that the separation was based on an understanding between Waṣīf and his master. That is, when Waṣīf reached the place where he was now, his master would join him, and together they would move against Egypt[438] and subdue it. This became common knowledge, and people talked about it.

On Rajab 11, 287 (July 12, 900), Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās[439] was put in charge of the land tax and the estates of Fārs, which had been under the control of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār. His letters of appointment were handed over to his brother Aḥmad b. al-
[2196] ʿAbbās.[440] Ḥāmid had been // staying in Wāsiṭ, because he was governor of the city and the Tigris counties. He wrote to ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī, who was in Iṣbahān, asking him to come to Fārs to take charge of security.

In this year, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī and the troops attached to him reportedly left al-Baṣrah together with the Baṣran volunteers, who were ready to fight with him, in order to march against Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī and the Qarmaṭians who made common cause with him. When Abū Saʿīd's vanguards met them, al-ʿAbbās left his train behind and moved toward them. He encountered Abū Saʿīd and the men with him in the evening. They engaged in combat, until night interrupted contact between them, and both parties returned to their respective locations. During the night, the Arab tribesmen of the Banū Ḍabbah who were with al-ʿAbbās went to al-Baṣrah; they numbered about three hundred. They were followed by the Baṣran volunteers. Early in the morning, al-ʿAbbās started to engage the Qarmaṭians

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[438] Text: Muḍar, but see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCIX, as well as R where the vocalization is clearly Miṣr. See also Canard, *Sources arabes*, 15. "Muḍar" is quite unlikely, but if Egypt is meant, it would seem to have been an unreasonable plan. At any rate, the enterprise constituted a considerable threat to the government in Baghdad; thus, the rumors circulating there had political significance.
[439] For Ibn al-ʿAbbās [233-311 (837-923)], see *EI²*, s. v. Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās.
[440] Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās died in Shaʿbān, 304 (January-February, 917). See ʿArīb, 63.

in combat, and the fighting was fierce. The commander of al-ʿAbbās's left wing, Najāḥ,[441] the page of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh, attacked the right wing of Abū Saʿīd with a number[442] of his men—about a hundred strong. They broke through the right wing, but Najāḥ and all those with him were killed. Al-Jannābī and his men now attacked al-ʿAbbās's men, and the latter were routed. Al-ʿAbbās surrendered, and about seven hundred of his men were captured. Al-Jannābī took possession of what was in al-ʿAbbās's camp. The day after the battle, al-Jannābī had al-ʿAbbās's men who had been captured brought before him, and then had them all killed. Following that, he ordered firewood thrown upon the corpses and had them burned. This battle reportedly took place at the end of Rajab, 287 (July 31, 900). Word concerning it reached Baghdad on Shaʿbān 4, 287 (August 4, 900).

In this year, al-Jannābī reportedly reached Hajar. He entered it and granted guarantees of safe-conduct / / to its inhabitants. This [2197]
was after his return from the battle with al-ʿAbbās. He routed the remnant of [443] the men of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr who were on their way to al-Baṣrah. Only a small number of them managed to escape, and without provisions and clothing. A group of about four hundred pack animals carrying food, clothing, and water left al-Baṣrah to meet them. The Banū Asad reportedly went out against them. They seized the pack animals and their loads and killed a number of the men who were with those animals, as well as the men of al-ʿAbbās who had escaped. This was in Ramaḍān, 287 (August 30-September 28, 900). Al-Baṣrah was greatly disturbed by this event, and the inhabitants thought of moving away. But Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāthiqī, who was in charge of security there, forbade them to leave. They feared that the Qarmaṭians would assault them.

On Ramaḍān 8, 287 (September 6, 900), a mail pouch from al-Ubullah reportedly reached the central authorities with the information that Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī had released al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr and one of his eunuchs and that al-ʿAbbās was arriving on

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[441] I have no further information concerning him.
[442] R: *mṭwʿh* "volunteers from" (?).
[443] R: "people from."

a seagoing vessel. On Ramaḍān 11, 287 (September 9, 900), al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr arrived at Madīnat al-Salām and went to al-Muʿtaḍid's Thurayyā palace. It is reported that he had remained with al-Jannābī for several days after the battle. Then al-Jannābī summoned al-ʿAbbās and asked him whether he would like to be released. When al-ʿAbbās replied, "yes," al-Jannābī said, "Then go and tell the one who sent you ⌜against me⌝ what you have seen!"[444] He gave him animals to ride on and attached some of his men to him. He had them outfitted with the needed provisions and water, and ordered the men whom he sent with al-ʿAbbās to bring him to a place where he would be safe. They traveled with him until they reached one of the places along the coast. There he found a boat to carry him to al-Ubullah. Al-Muʿtaḍid bestowed a robe of honor upon him and gave him leave to return to his residence.

On Thursday, Shawwāl 11, 287 (Thursday, October 9, 900),
[2198] al-Muʿtaḍid left // his tent at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah to go in pursuit of Waṣīf, the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj. He kept his intention concealed, stating (officially) that he was going toward Diyār Muḍar.

On Friday, Shawwāl 12, 287 (Friday, October 10, 900), news reportedly reached the central authorities that the Qarmaṭians in the Sawād from among the inhabitants of Junbulā'[445] had attacked

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[444] The Qarmaṭian's message and al-Muʿtaḍid's reaction to it are reported in al-Ghanawī's name by Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, I, 98f., see de Goeje, *Carmathes, Appendix*, IX-XI; Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 13-16; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 133f.; *al-ʿUyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 161-64, ed. Saʿīdī, I, 94f. Since Miskawayh systematically quotes Ṭabarī, it might be suspected that he also derived this most interesting report from a recension of the *History*. This, however, does not seem to be the case. The source for this report from al-Ghanawī (as well as for the other addition in Miskawayh, see above, Foreword, xviii f.) was the qāḍī Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid who was still alive in 356 (967) as indicated in Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, II, 157, ed. Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, text, 185 (*Oriental Translation Fund*, N. S. 27-28). He cannot be assumed to have had contact with Ṭabarī; moreover, the chain of transmitters leads back to the Tanūkhīs. If Masʿūdī's *Kitāb al-Awsaṭ* were preserved, we would probably know more about the transmission of al-Jannābī's message, since it contained a lengthy treatment of the episode. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 193f., ed. Pellat, V, 166f. A different version is found in Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 110f.

[445] Located between Wāsiṭ and al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 126.

their governor Badr,[446] the page of al-Ṭā'ī, killed a number of Muslims, including women and children, and burned the residences.

On Dhū al-Qa'dah 14, 287 (November 10, 900), al-Mu'taḍid encamped at Kanīsat al-Sawdā'[447] while searching for the eunuch Waṣīf. He remained there, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday (November 12-14), until the men caught up with him. The Caliph wanted to travel in the direction of al-Maṣṣīṣah, but the spies came to him with the information that the eunuch was going to 'Ayn Zarbah. So he ordered the border-region couriers and knowledgeable people brought to him and asked them about the most direct road to 'Ayn Zarbah. In the morning of Thursday, Dhū al-Qa'dah 17, 287 (Thursday, November 13, 900), they crossed the Jayḥān with him. He sent his son 'Alī together with al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Kūrah in the vanguard. Following 'Alī in order were Ja'far b. Si'r,[448] Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr, Khāqān al-Mufliḥī, ⌜Mu'nis al-Khādim⌝[449] and Mu'nis al-Khāzin. Following them, al-Mu'taḍid came with the chamber pages.[450] Passing by 'Ayn Zarbah, the Caliph had a tent set up for himself there. He left Khafīf al-Samarqandī behind there with his train, while he himself marched behind the officers after the eunuch. After the afternoon prayer, he received the good news that the eunuch had been captured. The eunuch was brought // to al-Mu'taḍid who [2199]
turned him over to Mu'nis al-Khāzin,[451] chief of the military police at the time. He further ordered that guarantees of safe-conduct be

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[446] He is first mentioned in the text above, III, 2107, *sub anno* 271 (885), as attached to Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj. He appears once more below, 2202. His master al-Ṭā'ī is the individual mentioned above, n. 79.

[447] As described by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 314, the place was named thus because of its church (*kanīsah*) built of black (*sawdā'*) stone, and it was located in the region of al-Maṣṣīṣah.

[448] R: Sa'd. I have no further information about him.

[449] Mu'nis al-Khādim, called al-Muẓaffar "The Victorious One" after his successes, particularly in Egypt. He died, after a glorious career, in 321 (933) at the age of about ninety. See Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, II, 188. He is, of course, mentioned in all the histories of al-Muqtadir. See *Eclipse*, Index, 95f.

[450] On the chamber pages (*ghilmān al-ḥujar* or al-ḥujariyyah), see *EI*², s. v. ghulām (II, 1080a).

[451] Text: al-Khādim; read al-Khāzin as in RC. Note that al-Khādim also appears in the somewhat different description of this episode in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 198, ed. Pellat, V, 168. The position indicated here does not, it seems, make it possible for us to determine with certainty which Mu'nis is meant.

granted to the eunuch's men and that it be announced in the camp that those whose saddles contained anything looted from the eunuch's camp and who did not return it to his men would be outside the protection of the law. Therefore, the loot from the camp was returned to many of the eunuch's men. The battle and the capture of the eunuch Waṣīf reportedly took place on Thursday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 17, 287 (Thursday, November 13, 900). Thirty-six days had elapsed from the day al-Muʿtaḍid left his tent at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah to the day the eunuch was apprehended.

After the eunuch was apprehended, al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly went back to ʿAyn Zarbah and stayed there two days. On the morning of the third day, the inhabitants of ʿAyn Zarbah gathered and asked him to leave because of the shortage of food in town. Therefore he left on the third day. He encamped at al-Maṣṣīṣah with all his troops, except for Abū al-Agharr Khalīfah b. al-Mubārak whom he had sent to block the eunuch's way, so that he would not get to Marʿash and the Malaṭyah region, as he had already sent off his family and the families of his men to Marʿash. The eunuch's men who had fled learned about al-Muʿtaḍid's guarantees of safe-conduct and his order to return their belongings to them. They therefore joined the camp of al-Muʿtaḍid and accepted his guarantee of safe-conduct.

Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly encamped at al-Maṣṣīṣah on Sunday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 20, 287 (Sunday, November 16, 900). He remained there until the following Sunday. He wrote to the dignitaries of Ṭarsūs asking them to join him there. Coming to him[452] were al-Nughayl, one of the chieftains of the two border regions,[453] and a son of his[454] as well as a man called Ibn al-Muhandis[455] and a number of others with them. Al-Muʿtaḍid detained them
[2200] // and others. He released most of them, but those whom he had detained, he took with him to Baghdad.[456] He was angry at them because they had reportedly corresponded with the eunuch Waṣīf.

452 RB: *ilayhi*, for (the misprint ?) *ilayhim*.

453 R: *wujūh al-thaghrayn* (see also C). Apparently the *ʿawāṣim* and *thughūr* are meant.

454 See Ibn al-Muʿtazz, verse 357.

455 No further information concerning him seems to be available.

456 The Caliph arrived in Baghdad on Ṣafar 7, 288 (January 31, 901). During his festive entry he paraded Waṣīf, al-Nughayl, al-Nughayl's son, and Ibn al-Muhandis through the streets, dressed in the manner usual on these occasions and seated on camels. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 198f., ed. Pellat, V, 129.

Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the burning of all the seagoing vessels which the Muslims used for raids, together with all their equipment. Damyānah, the page of Yāzmān,[457] reportedly was the one who had advised him to do that because he held a grudge against the inhabitants of Ṭarsūs. Everything was burned. Among the ships, there were about fifty old ones, on which a large amount of money had been spent and the like of which are no longer built. The burning of these ships proved harmful to the Muslims and diminished their military potential, while it strengthened the Byzantines who were now safe from being raided by sea.

Al-Muʿtaḍid put al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah in charge of the Syrian Border regions in response to a request of their inhabitants who agreed to his appointment.

Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly left al-Maṣṣīṣah, and during the course of his journey he camped at the following places: Funduq al-Ḥusayn,[458] al-Iskandariyyah,[459] Baghrās, and, finally, Anṭākiyah where he arrived on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 2, 287 (November 28, 900). He stayed in Anṭākiyah until Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10, 287 (December 6, 900), and left early the following day. His itinerary went via Artāḥ, al-Athārib, Aleppo, where he stayed two days, al-Nāʿūrah, Khusāf, with Ṣiffīn on the Jazīrah side and the Treasury of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib on the other side,[460] Bālis, Dawsar, and Baṭn Dāmān.[461] From there he went to al-Raqqah; he entered the city on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 21, 287 (December 17, 900), and remained there until Dhū al-Ḥijjah 27, 287 (December 23, 900).

On Shawwāl 24, 287 (October 22, 900), word reached the central authorities that Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ʿAlawī had been killed.[462] / / The reason why he was killed reportedly was this: When news [2201]
of the capture of ʿAmr b. al-Layth by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad reached Muḥammad b. Zayd, Ibn Zayd left with a large army for

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457 See above, n. 180.

458 I have no further information on this locality.

459 That is, al-Iskandarūnah, Alexandrette.

460 Ṣiffīn is assumed to be located after Bālis on this itinerary. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 17, and idem, *Ḥamdanides*, map between pp. 240 and 241.

461 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 538f.

462 Those interested in al-Muʿtaḍid's supposed pro-ʿAlid stance maintained that he was grieved to hear the news. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 209, ed. Pellat, V, 173.

Khurāsān[463] which he had great hopes of conquering. He thought that the administrative authority that had accrued to Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad when 'Amr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār was governor of Khurāsān would not expand, and thus nobody would keep him from Khurāsān now that 'Amr had been captured and no agent of the central authorities was there. When he reached Jurjān and stayed there, Ismā'īl wrote to him and asked that he return to Ṭabaristān and leave Jurjān to him, but Ibn Zayd refused. As has been mentioned to me, Ismā'īl therefore urged a man called Muḥammad b. Hārūn,[464] a lieutenant of Rāfi' b. Harthamah in the days when Rāfi' was in control of Khurāsān, to fight Muḥammad b. Zayd. Muḥammad b. Hārūn accepted, and Ismā'īl attached many of his men and troops to him, sending him off to fight Ibn Zayd. Muḥammad b. Hārūn marched against Ibn Zayd; the two met at the Gate of Jurjān[465] and fought a fierce battle in which Muḥammad b. Hārūn's force was routed. Later Muḥammad b. Hārūn returned when the ranks of the 'Alid (Ibn Zayd) had broken up. Now, the 'Alid's force was routed. They turned back and fled, and many were reportedly killed. Ibn Zayd was wounded several times, his son Zayd[466] was captured, and Muḥammad b. Hārūn took possession of his camp and all it contained. Several days after the battle, Muḥammad b. Zayd died of the blows which he had sustained. He was buried at the Gate of Jurjān. His son Zayd was brought to Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad. Muḥammad b. Hārūn marched
[2202] on Ṭabaristān.//

On Saturday, Dhū al-Qa'dah 12, 287 (Saturday, November 8, 900), Badr, the page of al-Ṭā'ī, made a surprise attack on the Qarmaṭians in the region of Rūdhmastān[467] and elsewhere. He reportedly killed a great many of them but then withdrew, because

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463 R: "Jurjān," also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 194, ed. Pellat, V, 167. The other later sources read Khurāsān.

464 According to Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 365, Muḥammad b. Hārūn was captured after his defeat and flight (see text below, 2220f.). He died near the end of 290 (903). Supposedly he had started out as a tailor and then became a highway robber with a gang of low-class people he had gathered around himself in the desert of Sarakhs. Following that he entered the service of Rāfi' b. Harthamah.

465 Here, the capital of the region. See *EI*², s. v. Gurgān.

466 I have not found any further information about him.

467 See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCIX. R: *Dwrmst'n*, which is almost correct.

he feared that the Sawād might be ruined, since they were the peasants and laborers there. He searched for their leaders in various locations and killed those whom he came upon. The Caliph had previously reinforced Badr with a number of his soldiers and pages on account of the Qarmaṭians and the events caused by them.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd.

# The Events of the Year 288

## (DECEMBER 26, 900 - DECEMBER 15, 901)

One of the events was that a report reached the central authorities in Baghdad mentioning the outbreak of pestilence[468] in Ādharbayjān. A large number of people died, so that there were not enough shrouds in which to bury the dead. They were buried in garments and felt blankets. Conditions then became so bad that they could no longer find anybody to bury the dead, and they were left lying in the streets. *Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj died during this pestilence.*[469]

In this year, the men of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth[470] entered Fārs and ejected the officials of the central authorities. This happened on Ṣafar 17, 288 (February 10, 901).

In this year, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj, who was called Afshīn,
[2203] died in Ādharbayjān. // His pages and a number of his men gathered and made *his son* Dēwdād b. Muḥammad[471] their amīr, against the opposition of Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj who dissociated himself from them.

On Rabīʿ II, 27, 288 (April 20, 901), a dispatch from the postmaster in al-Ahwāz arrived at Baghdad. He mentioned in it that the men of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth had reached Sanbīl[472] on their way toward al-Ahwāz.

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468 *Wabā'* could refer more specifically to the plague, but it is a general term for pestilence or epidemic. See Dols, *Black Death.*

469 Ibn al-Athīr also refers to the death of Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj in this connection.

470 His capture is reported in 297 (910). See text below, 2285; ʿArīb, 32.

471 Dēwdād was named after his grandfather, Abū al-Sāj Dēwdād. The last mention of him occurs *sub anno* 307 (919-20). See *Eclipse*, I, 74.

472 Sanbīl was located on the border of Khūzistān and Fārs. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 244, 269.

On Jumādā I 1, 288 (April 23, 901),[473] ʿAmr b. al-Layth was brought to Baghdad[474] by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ, who had been sent by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, and by Ashnās,[475] a page of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad. It has been mentioned to me that Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad gave ʿAmr the choice of remaining with him as a prisoner or being sent to the court of the Commander of the Faithful, and he chose the latter.

On Jumādā II 2, 288 (May 24, 901), a dispatch from the postmaster of al-Ahwāz reportedly arrived at Baghdad from al-Ahwāz. The postmaster mentioned in it that a dispatch from Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad had reached Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, informing him that the central authorities had appointed him[476] governor of Sijistān and ordered him to go there. Ismāʿīl was coming to Fārs to attack Ṭāhir, and he would then return to Sijistān. Ṭāhir had rebelled[477] on this account. He had written to his cousin, who was staying in Arrajān with his army, and ordered him to come back to Fārs along with those with him.[478]

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid, having learned that Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad had gained control *of affairs* in Fārs, appointed his *mawlā* Badr governor of that province [479] and ordered him to go there. On Jumādā II 7(9),[480] 288 [May 29 (31), 901], // he bestowed a [2204]
robe of honor upon him and attached a number of officers to him. Badr then proceeded with a large force of soldiers and pages.

On Jumādā II 2, 288 (June 1, 901), ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ and Ashnās, the page of Ismāʿīl, left Baghdad to go to Ismāʿīl b.

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[473] Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 427, in quoting this passage, adds the correct day of the week, Thursday, no doubt from a Ṭabarī manuscript.
[474] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 200f., ed. Pellat, V, 170 (also VIII, 208f.; V, 173), adds that he was dressed in the fashion customary on such occasions.
[475] I have no further information about him.
[476] That is, Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad. It could hardly mean that Ṭāhir was given that appointment to draw him away from Fārs.
[477] RB: *jaziʿa* "had become afraid," which is possibly the more correct text.
[478] The text seems to suggest that this was Ṭāhir's cousin (R: "uncle") who was in Arrajān in the Province of Fārs, but no name of another son of ʿAmr except Muḥammad seems to be attested.
[479] From here to p. 104, l. 22, C is missing. See Foreward, xix.
[480] R: "seven"; B: "nine."

Aḥmad ⌜b. Sāmān⌝ with letters[481] from al-Muʿtaḍid and a corselet, a crown,[482] and a sword of gold, completely encrusted with jewels. He also sent gifts and three million dirhams for distribution among Khurāsānian soldiers to be sent to Sijistān to fight the men of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr there. According to another report, the amount sent to him by al-Muʿtaḍid was ten million dirhams. Part of it was sent by al-Muʿtaḍid from Baghdad. He wrote to the officials of al-Jabal, ordering them to give the rest of it to the emissaries.

In Rajab, 288 (June 21-July 20, 901), Badr, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, drew close to Fārs. The associates of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad who were there withdrew. Badr's men entered Fārs, and his officials collected the land tax there.

On Ramaḍān 2, 288 (August 20, 901), a dispatch from ʿAjj b. Ḥājj,[483] the governor of Mecca, reportedly arrived at Baghdad. ʿAjj mentioned in it that the Banū Yaʿfur[484] had attacked a man who had seized control of Ṣanʿāʾ. He suggested[485] that he was an ʿAlid and that they had routed him.[486] He had then taken refuge in a city, fortifying himself there. When they got to him, they attacked him and routed him again, capturing a son of his;[487] he escaped

481 Read *bi-rasāʾil* as in R. The text has *bi-khilaʿ* "with robes of honors," following the text of Ibn al-Athīr.

482 Corselets and crowns were expensive gifts also sent on occasion to ʿAmr b. al-Layth. See Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, 40, 45. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 201, ed. Pellat, V, 170, describes the gifts as "a corselet of brocade woven with gold and studded with jewels, a gold belt studded with jewels, and other jewels, as well as three hundred thousand dīnārs (!)."

483 He was amīr of Mecca in 281 (894-5). See Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, I, 342. He died in 306 (918). See above, n. 401.

484 On the Banu Yaʿfur in the Yemen, see Zambaur, 116. For this particular episode, see also Ibn al-Muʿtazz (verses 377-86). The Arabic lexicographers suggest different vocalizations for Yaʿfur. Yuʿfir is the one adopted in *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s. v. al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥakḳ.

485 R: *wa-zaʿama*; B: "mentioned."

486 R: "routed his men."

487 Presumably, the ʿAlid was the Qarmaṭian ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl [d. 303 (915)]. See Kay, *Yaman*, 207, and below, nn. 751 and 818. It seems, however, that Ṭabarī's statement cannot be fully clarified by means of the ample information we have about the turbulent events that took place in Ṣanʿāʾ in 288-9. In these events, Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq, the founder of Zaydī rule in the Yemen, also played a prominent role. See van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, 191ff.; *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s. v. al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥakḳ.

with about fifty persons. The Banū Ya'fur entered Ṣan'ā' and mentioned al-Mu'taḍid in the Friday sermon there.

In this year, Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj with a few men attacked his nephew // Dēwdād b. Muḥammad, who had the army of his [2205] father Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj with him. Yūsuf routed[488] Dēwdād's army, leaving the latter with only a small number of people. He suggested to him that he stay with him, but Dēwdād refused, *saying that he would go to the Caliph's court. (Yūsuf) started to go along with him for a while and to ask him to stay with him, but he refused*[489] and took the Mosul Road. He reached Baghdad on Thursday, Ramaḍān 23, 288 (Thursday, September 10, 901). The battle between the two had taken place in the region of Ādharbayjān.

In this year, Nizār b. Muḥammad,[490] the agent of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Kūrah, went on the summer campaign, conquering many Byzantine fortresses. He brought into Ṭarsūs some one hundred and sixty non-Muslims,[491] abbots,[492] and deacons as well as many of their crosses and banners. Kūrah sent them on to Baghdad.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 12, 288 (November 27, 901), letters of the merchants reached Baghdad from al-Raqqah stating that the Byzantines had arrived in many vessels. Some Byzantines had also come on (horse)back to the region of Kaysūm.[493] They had driven off more than fifteen thousand Muslims, men, women, and children. They had left with them, including some protected non-Muslims they had seized.

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488 R: *fa-hazama*, also Miskawayh, *Tajārib* V, 18.

489 The addition in R is also found in Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 18.

490 Apparently, the individual who was removed from the administration of the Ḥaramayn in 310 (923) (Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 31) and died in 317 (929-30) ('Arīb, 146, where he is called Abū Ma'add al-Ḍabbī). See below, n. 713.

491 The contemptuous term (*'ilj*), referring to the native non-Muslim population, is translated "Barbares chrétiens" by Canard, *Sources arabes*, 17.

492 The context refers to church dignitaries, and R has the expected *al-qamāmisah*, from Greek *hēgoumenos*.

493 See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, index, s. v. Kaēsoun.

In this year, the men of Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī came close to al-Baṣrah. The inhabitants were so afraid of them that they thought of fleeing and moving away. However, their governor forbade them to do that.

At the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 288 (December 15, 901),[494] Waṣīf, the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, was killed. His corpse was taken and hung on the East Side. According to another report, he was not killed but died (of natural causes), and after he had died, his head was cut off.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Abū Bakr Hārūn b.
[2206] Muḥammad.[495] //

[494] In his more detailed report, Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 202f., ed. Pellat, V, 170f., gives the date of Thursday, al-Muḥarram 1, 289 (Wednesday, December 16, 901).

[495] According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IX, 75, ed. Pellat, V, 299, he was Hārūn b. Muḥammad (Muḥammad b. Hārūn ?) b. al-ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, a great-great-great-grandson of the Caliph al-Manṣūr. If the pedigree is correct, Hārūn b. Muḥammad could not have been a son of the leader of the pilgrimage in 280. The latter's son and successor, moreover, was called Abū Jaʿfar (see Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, III, 356).

# The *Important* Events of[496] the Year 289

(DECEMBER 16, 901 - DECEMBER 4, 902)

One of the events was the spread of the Qarmaṭian movement in the Kūfan countryside. Shibl,[497] a page of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭā'ī, was sent against them. He was ordered to search for them, seize all of them that he might come upon, and bring them[498] to the Caliph's court. He came upon a leader of theirs, known as Ibn Abī al-Qaws.[499] He was sent with the others to Baghdad. On al-Muḥarram 22, 289, (January 8, 902), al-Muʿtaḍid summoned him and interrogated him. He then ordered his teeth knocked out. Thereafter, his (limbs) were dislocated by stretching one of his hands with a pulley while a rock was attached to the other hand.[500] He was left in this state from midday to evening.[501] The next day, his hands and feet were cut off, and he was decapitated. His corpse was hung on the East Side. After several days, it was carried to al-Yāsiriyyah,[502] where it was hung together with the Qarmaṭians who had been hung there.

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496 R: *al-aḥdāth al-jalīlah*; B: "matters."

497 I have not succeeded in finding any further information about him.

498 Both manuscripts, R and B, have *wa-ḥamlihī*. *Ḥamlihim* in the Leiden edition may be a misprint. The meaning is the same.

499 The reading *al-Fawāris* adopted in the Leiden edition has very little authority. It is not found in either of the Ṭabarī manuscripts. R has *al-Faws*. In Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 204f., 422, ed. Pellat, V, 171f., it is merely an editorial choice. It does appear in Ibn al-Athīr and in *al-ʿUyūn wa-al-Ḥadā'iq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 169, ed. Saʿīdī, I, 100. Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 18, has *al-Qaws*, and, above all, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, verse 413, also has *al-Qaws*. It would seem that the reading *al-Fawāris* is merely a substitution of a more common name for an unfamiliar one (which, moreover, could be *Faws* or *Qaws*). Not surprisingly, no further information about the individual seems to be available.

500 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 18; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 126, make the procedure a little clearer. A rock was attached to one hand, and a pulley string to the other.

501 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 18: "three hours."

502 See Lassner, *Topography*, 259, n. 62.

On Rabīʿ I 2, 289 (February 14, 902), those whose houses and shops were at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah were evicted from them. They were told to take what they could salvage[503] and leave. This was because al-Muʿtaḍid thought of building himself a palace *there* to live in. He had the foundation lines traced at the place where the wall was to be built and excavated part of the area. He began with the construction of a pavillion[504] along the Tigris. He had ordered its construction so that he could move into it, remaining there until the construction of the palace and castle was completed.

On Monday[505] night [Rabīʿ II 289 (Monday, April 5, 902)],
[2207] al-Muʿtaḍid died. // The following morning, Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb, Abū Khāzim ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz,[506] and Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb[507] were brought to the Caliph's palace[508] The funeral prayer was attended by the wazīr al-Qāsim

[503] Text: *aqfāṣakum*; read *anqāḍakum*, as in R and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 30, l. 14. *Anqāḍ* refers to things that were still usable or saleable after a building was torn down. See, for instance, text above, III, 320, 385; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 325, 327; Dozy, II, 714. *Aqfāṣakum*, as in the Leiden edition, may not even have been intended in B; if it constitutes an acceptable reading, it may mean "your cages" in the sense of containers in which the merchandise (and other belongings) were kept. See text above, III, 193 (*aṣḥāb al-aqfāṣ*), and 279 (*darb al-aqfāṣ*).

[504] For *dakkah* meaning "raised platform," see text below, 2244f. Here, an inhabitable construction is meant.

[505] *Al-ithnayn* is indeed found in R as expected. The night from Sunday to Monday is meant. Al-Muʿtaḍid thus died on Sunday, April 4. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 113, ed. Pellat, V, 137. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, ʿ*Uyūn*, I, 231, l. 31, mentions "the night of (Monday to) Tuesday."

[506] According to Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-quḍāh*, III, 198, Abū Khāzim succeeded Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq b. Abī al-ʿAnbas as qāḍī of al-Kūfah when Ibn Abī al-ʿAnbas died in 275-6 (888-9) [in fact, he died on Tuesday, Rabīʿ II 26, 277 (Monday, August 17, 890), as indicated in Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, VI, 25f.]. Abū Khāzim was then named qāḍī of al-Sharqiyyah in Baghdad and continued at the same time as qāḍī of al-Kūfah until his death in 272 [*sic*, read 292 (905), see the obituary notice in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 52-56; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 236, ed. Pellat, V, 187, gives the exact date, although the day of the month must be corrected from seventh to ninth, that is, Thursday, Jumādā II 9, 292 (Thursday, April 18, 905)]. Instead of Abū Khāzim, one often finds Abū Ḥāzim, but the former seems to be the preferred form of the name.

[507] See above, n. 217. The task of the three judges was the preparation of the death certificate.

[508] Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 24, ll. 1f., supplies here what is no doubt a *homoioteleuton* omission in the manuscript tradition of Ṭabarī: "The washing of al-Muʿtaḍid was supervised by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, and the funeral prayer for him by Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb."

b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān, Abū Khāzim, Abū ʿUmar,[509] the eunuchs,[510] and the inner circle of notables. Al-Muʿtaḍid had stipulated in his last will that he wished to be buried in the house of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.[511] A grave was dug for him there. He was carried from his palace which was known as al-Ḥasanī, during the night and buried in his grave there.

On Rabīʿ II 22, 289 (April 6, 902), al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān sat in the Caliph's Ḥasanī Palace and permitted people to come in to express to him their condolences on the death of al-Muʿtaḍid and to congratulate him on his new ruler, al-Muktafī. He ordered the civilian and military officials to renew the oath of allegiance to al-Muktafī, and they did so.[512]

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509 Both Muḥammad and his father Yūsuf probably attended.

510 Text: *al-ḥaram* "the harem"; read *al-khadam* as in R. The latter reading appears to be preferable. The two words are frequently paired.

511 See above, n. 417. Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, IV, 407, l. 8, specifies " the marble chamber" of the house. See also verse 3 of the elegy of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Dīwān*, IV, 133.

512 As indicated in the Leiden edition, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, ʿ*Uyūn*, I, 231, ll. 19-30, quotes a medical anecdote in connection with the death of al-Muʿtaḍid on the authority of the *History* of Ṭabarī. There is no real reason to doubt that it belonged to a recension of the work. It may, at some stage, have been omitted by Ṭabarī himself, or the compiler of a recension, as too anecdotal and irrelevant:

"As the story goes, the physicians Dāwūd b. Daylam [d. Saturday, al-Muḥarram 5, 329 (Saturday, October 10, 940), see Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿah, ʿ*Uyūn*, I, 234] and ʿAbdūs (in whose biography the quotation from Ṭabarī appears; see Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 302) have said: When al-Muʿtaḍid's illness became grave—it was a sort of dropsy and corrupt temper, from which he was getting away (?)—and he feared for his life, we and all the other physicians were brought into his presence. He said to us, 'Don't you say that when a disease is known, the remedy is known, and when a patient is given that remedy, he gets better?' When we gave an affirmative answer, he continued, 'So, do you know my illness and the remedy for it, or don't you?' We said we knew it, and he said, 'So, why am I not getting better under your treatment?' We thought that he was about to attack us, and our strength ebbed. ʿAbdūs said to him, 'O Commander of the Faithful, we do have the right idea just as stated, but there is a problem. We do not know the quantity of the parts of the illness so as to be able to match them with like parts of the remedy. We are just guessing at it. We try at the start and see what comes closest, and then we look what effect it has upon the illness, if God wills.' Al-Muʿtaḍid let us be, and when we were alone, we held a conference and concluded that we should put him in a *ghābah*, i. e., an oven. We heated it up and placed him into it (see text above, III, 1363). He sweated, and he felt some relief, because the illness withdrew inside his body. Then, however, it went up to his heart. After several days, he died, and we escaped from our dangerous predicament."

# The Caliphate of al-Muktafī bi-llāh[513]

When al-Muʿtaḍid died, al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh immediately sent off dispatches with the information to al-Muktafī who was staying in al-Raqqah. Upon receiving the news, al-Muktafī ordered his secretary al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī the very same day to exact the oath of allegiance from all those in his camp and to pay them a bonus. Al-Ḥusayn did that. Al-Muktafī sent men to the regions of Diyār Rabīʿah, Diyār Muḍar, and the west to maintain order and then left al-Raqqah for Baghdad. On Tuesday, Jumādā I / / 8, 289 (Tuesday, April 20, 902), al-Muktafī entered his Ḥasanī [2208]
Palace. When he arrived at his residence, he ordered the destruction of the dungeons for criminals which his father had constructed for himself.[514] The very same day, al-Muktafī addressed al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh by his patronymic (Abū al-Ḥusayn, as a sign of intimacy) and bestowed a robe of honor upon him.

The very same day,[515] ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār died. He was buried the next morning near the Ḥasanī Palace. When he was dying and could no longer speak, al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly ordered Ṣāfī al-Ḥuramī[516] through signs and gestures to kill ʿAmr; he did this by putting his hand upon his neck and his eye[517] to indicate that he should slaughter[518] the one-eyed man. But Ṣāfī, knowing

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513 Rubric supplied in the Leiden edition. It is not found in R.

514 See text above, n. 345. Quoting this text, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 429, has "dug for himself (*iḥtafarahā*)."

515 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 24: "On the second day after his arrival."

516 Ṣāfī al-Ḥuramī d. Shaʿbān, 298 (April-May, 911). See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 9; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 108. The vocalization Ḥuramī is expressly indicated in Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, I, 159.

517 R: " his eyes," which is a wrong reading.

518 R (and similarly Miskawayh and Ibn al-Athīr): *an idhbaḥ*, for *arāda dhabḥ*. Quoting this text, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 429f., adds that "ʿAmr was one-eyed," but this fact does not seem to be stated elsewhere.

that al-Muʿtaḍid was near death, was unwilling to kill ʿAmr and did not do it. When al-Muktafī entered Baghdad, he reportedly asked al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh whether ʿAmr was still alive, and was happy when al-Qāsim replied that he was. The Caliph mentioned that he wanted to treat ʿAmr well, since ʿAmr had given him presents and shown much kindness to him when he stayed in al-Raqqah. Al-Muktafī now wanted to recompense him. Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh reportedly disliked that[519] and clandestinely sent someone to kill ʿAmr.

On Rajab 26, 289 (July 6, 902), word arrived at Baghdad that a number of inhabitants of al-Rayy had entered into correspondence with Muḥammad b. Hārūn. He had been appointed governor of Ṭabaristān by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, after he had killed Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ʿAlawī, but he had then seceded and chosen the color white.[520] Now, those people asked him to come to al-Rayy, so that they might bring him into the city (to take charge of it). This was because Ukratmush al-Turkī,[521] who was in charge of the city, reportedly behaved badly toward them. Ukratmush fought against Muḥammad b. Hārūn,[522] but Muḥam-
[2209] mad routed and killed him, / / two sons of his, and an officer of the central authorities called Abrūn,[523] a brother of Kayghalagh. Muḥammad b. Hārūn entered al-Rayy and took control of it.

In Rajab, 289 (June 11-July 10, 902), Baghdad was shaken by earthquakes which lasted many days and nights.

In this year, Badr, the page of al-Muʿtaḍid, was killed. This was the reason why he was killed: al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh had thought of transferring the caliphate, after al-Muʿtaḍid's death,

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519 Ibn Khallikān: "his asking about him."

520 For the color white (here to indicate pro-Shīʿah sentiment) as against the ʿAbbāsid black, in connection with Muḥammad b. Hārūn, see also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 194f., ed. Pellat, V, 167. For white used by the Qarmaṭians, see text below, 2264. See also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 51.

521 That is, Öğretmiş, see Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 82; Massignon, *Passion*², I, 472.

522 Or, "M. fought against U."

523 See text above, III, 1936, where Abrūn was in charge of Qazwīn in 266 (879-80); Massignon, *Passion*², I, 472. For the sons of Kayghalagh, see below, n. 677. For Kayghalagh, see text above, III, 1819, *sub anno* 256 (870).

to someone who was not one of al-Muʿtaḍid's sons. He had discussed the matter with Badr,[524] and Badr had refused, saying, "I am not willing to take the caliphate away from the sons of my master to whom I owe my success." Al-Qāsim realized that he would be unable to oppose Badr, since Badr was the commander of al-Muʿtaḍid's army and controlled his affairs, while enjoying the loyalty of his eunuchs and pages. Thus, when he saw Badr's attitude, he came to fear and hate him.

Now, when death came to al-Muʿtaḍid, Badr was in Fārs.[525] Al-Qāsim took all the official steps necessary for al-Muktafī in al-Raqqah to become caliph. He did so because of the estrangement that existed between Badr and al-Muktafī, when his father al-Muʿtaḍid was alive. From al-Muʿtaḍid's pages he exacted the oath of allegiance to al-Muktafī as caliph and informed al-Muktafī by letter about his action. When al-Muktafī arrived in Baghdad, Badr was still in Fārs, and al-Qāsim worked toward Badr's destruction. He did this reportedly in order to protect himself lest Badr approach al-Muktafī and inform him about al-Qāsim's idea, while al-Muʿtaḍid was alive, of diverting the caliphate from al-Muʿtaḍid's sons / / upon his death. [2210]

Al-Muktafī reportedly sent Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr[526] and a number of officers with messages and dispatches for the officers who were with Badr, ordering them to break away from Badr and come to him. The dispatches were transmitted to the officers in question. Yānis,[527] the eunuch of al-Muwaffaq, was sent against Badr with ten million dirhams to be distributed as bonuses to Badr's men, so that they would give the oath of allegiance to al-Muktafī. Yānis left with the money, but when he reached al-Ahwāz, Badr reportedly sent someone who seized the money from him, whereupon Yānis returned to Madīnat al-Salām. When

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524 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 25, adds, no doubt following a Ṭabarī recension, "after he had sworn him to secrecy."

525 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 25, mentions here for the first time the reason why Badr was in Fārs, as stated in the text above, III, 2203: "because he had been sent out to fight Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth who had usurped control over Fārs." This statement may go back to a *homoioteleuton* omission in the text of Ṭabarī, rather than an attempt by Miskawayh to make up for his earlier omission.

526 R: "Kushmard." See above, n. 398.

527 Yānis al-Muwaffaqī, d. 311 (923-4). See ʿArīb, 115f. His mausoleum is mentioned by Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 146, *sub anno* 344 (945-6). See, further, for instance, *Eclipse*, I, 74; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 187; Mottahedeh, *Loyalty*, 87.

al-Muktafī's dispatches reached the officers attached to Badr, a number of them left Badr and departed for Madīnat al-Salām, among them al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī, Khāqān al-Mufliḥī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundāj, Khafīf al-Adhkūtakīnī, and a number of others. When they reached Madīnat al-Salām, they went to al-Muktafī who reportedly bestowed robes of honor upon some eighty[528] of them and gave each of their leaders one hundred thousand dirhams. He gave less to others; he bestowed robes of honor upon some officers but did not give them any money.

In Rajab, 289 (June 11-July 10, 902), Badr departed intending to go to Wāsiṭ. When al-Muktafī learned that Badr was going to Wāsiṭ, he sequestered Badr's house and arrested a number of his pages and officers, whom he incarcerated, among them Niḥrīr the Elder,[529] Gharīb al-Jabalī,[530] and Manṣūr,[531] a son of the sister of ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī. Al-Muktafī had the officers[532] brought to him and told them that he would not appoint anyone as their amīr and that whoever needed something should meet with the wazīr,
[2211] as he had already ordered him to take care of their needs. // He ordered Badr's name erased from shields and banners which bore the inscription "Abū al-Najm, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh."[533]

Badr wrote a letter to al-Muktafī. He entrusted it to Rundāq al-Saʿīdī[534] and dispatched him on swift camels. When the letter reached al-Muktafī, he took it, put someone in charge of that Rundāq, and had al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah march with an army on Wāsiṭ. Al-Muktafī reportedly sent him ahead and then sent Muḥammad b. Yūsuf down on the evening of Shaʿbān 28, 289 (August 7, 902), with a message for Badr.

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528 Text: "thirty." Read "eighty" as in RC, also Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 26.

529 Perhaps the Niḥrīr mentioned above, III, 1709f., *sub anno* 255 (869). Note, however, that the events are some thirty-five years removed.

530 The form of the name of this otherwise unknown individual is uncertain.

531 I have no further information about him.

532 Apparently, those mentioned earlier who had defected.

533 For this practice, see text above, III, 2115. Badr's *kunyah* Abū al-Najm is not often mentioned. See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 199, 201. Note that Badr "Full Moon" had a son Hilāl "New Moon" and a patronymic containing a word for "star" (*najm*). This was not uncommon.

534 Text: Zaydān; read Rundāq as in RC as well as Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCIX. Nothing further is known about him.

Al-Muktafī had sent a message[535] to Badr when he left the administration of Fārs, offering him the governorship of any region he wanted, be it Iṣbahān or al-Rayy or al-Jibāl. He ordered him to go wherever he desired in these regions with whatever horsemen and foot soldiers he desired, and to stay there with them as governor. Badr refused saying, "It is absolutely necessary for me to go to the court of my master."[536] Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh found an occasion to speak to al-Muktafī about him and said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, we have offered to appoint Badr governor wherever he would want to go, but he refuses, wanting only to come to your court." He made al-Muktafī afraid of an attack by Badr upon him and urged the Caliph to meet Badr and fight him.[537]

When it was reported to Badr that his house had been sequestered and that his pages and associates had been incarcerated, he was certain that there was evil afoot. He sent someone to attempt to free his son Hilāl[538] and have him brought down to him. Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh became aware of the attempt and ordered Hilāl guarded. He summoned Abū Khāzim, // the qāḍī of [2212] al-Sharqiyyah, and ordered him to go to Badr. He was to meet with him, make him feel secure, and grant him a guarantee of safe-conduct from the Commander of the Faithful. The guarantee would be for himself and his son and would cover his property. Abū Khāzim reportedly told al-Qāsim that he needed to hear this directly from the Commander of the Faithful, so that he could transmit it to Badr on the Caliph's authority. Al-Qāsim told him to go back and wait until he could obtain permission for him to

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535 If the date just indicated is correct, it gives the date of the departure from Baghdad of the qāḍī Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, which is described later in much detail, and the message must be one sent earlier to Badr. Ṭabarī here clearly combines different reports on the sad event which at the time as well as later touched people deeply.

536 The use of the word *mawlā* "master" recalls Badr's status under al-Muʿtaḍid, an implication that would not have escaped the men around the new Caliph.

537 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 26, adds, no doubt from a Ṭabarī recension: "saying that he has openly shown his disloyalty."

538 Hilāl b. Badr was not an uncommon name at the time, but if Ibn al-ʿAdīm is correct in speaking of "Hilāl b. Badr, Abū al-Fatḥ, the page of al-Muʿtaḍid" (*Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. al-Dahhān, I, 96), Badr's son survived and became amīr of Damascus, then governor of Aleppo, in 316 (928) and, following that, governor of Quṭrabbul and Sāmarrā in 317 (929). The sources which would allow checking this information are not available to me.

go and see the Commander of the Faithful on this matter. However, he then summoned Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf and gave him the same order that he had given to Abū Khāzim. Abū ʿUmar accepted right away, and al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh gave him a letter of safe-conduct for Badr from al-Muktafī. Abū ʿUmar left with it for Badr.[539]

When Badr left Wāsiṭ, he was deserted by his men and by most of his pages, such as ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī, his son-in-law Yānis al-Musta'min,[540] Aḥmad b. Simʿān,[541] and Niḥrīr the Younger.[542] They went to al-Muktafī's tent to ask for guarantees of safe-conduct. On Ramaḍān 2, 289 (August 10, 902), al-Muktafī left Baghdad for his tent on the Diyālā River, accompanied by his entire army. He encamped there and bestowed robes of honor upon the group of men I have named, who had come to his tent, as well as a number of officers and troops. He placed a number of others in custody. Following this he had nine of them put in fetters and ordered them taken in fetters to the New Prison.

Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf reportedly met Badr near Wāsiṭ. He handed the letter of safe-conduct to him and informed him, on al-Muktafī's authority, about what al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh had told him. He then went up with Badr (toward Baghdad) in the latter's skiff. He had him travel hugging the east bank (of the Tigris),[543] while those of his pages who had remained with him, together with a number of troops and a large number of
[2213] Kurds and people of al-Jabal, accompanied him along // the bank of the Tigris. There was an understanding between Badr and Abū ʿUmar that Badr would enter Baghdad willingly and obediently. Badr crossed the Tigris and reached al-Nuʿmāniyyah, where he ordered those of his pages and men who had remained

[539] As a judge, Abū ʿUmar was not likely to become knowingly involved in this sort of illegal politicking. Through his and his father's long association with al-Muʿtaḍid, and his awareness of Badr's position, he may have felt that Badr was in no danger, and he thus had no suspicions as Abū Khāzim did.

[540] The relationship by marriage apparently existed between Yānis and al-Nūsharī, and not between Yānis and Badr. There does not seem to be any further information about this Yānis, and it is not clear whether al-Musta'min is a nickname or descriptive.

[541] Aḥmad b. Simʿān is mentioned in Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 190.

[542] Niḥrīr the Younger died in 318 (930) holding the position of chief of security in Mosul. See ʿArīb, 146.

[543] See text above, III, 1893, where essentially the same localities are named as here.

with him to give up their weapons and abstain from any fighting; he also informed them about the letter of safe-conduct which Abū ʿUmar had brought him. While he was moving along, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundāj[544] arrived in a barge with a number of pages. Having transferred to the skiff, he was asked by Badr what was going on. He calmed Badr and talked kindly to him, and all the while everybody addressed Badr as amīr. It was, however, al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh who had sent Ibn Kundāj, telling him to let him know when he got together with Badr in one place. He now did so, whereupon al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh summoned Lu'lu',[545] one of the Caliph's pages, and told him that he had selected him for a job. When Lu'lu' replied that he was ready and willing, al-Qāsim said to him, "Go and take Badr from Ibn Kundājīq and bring his head to me!" Lu'lu' sailed in a flyer[546] until he caught up with Badr and those with him between Sīb Banī Kūmā and Aḍṭarbad.[547] He transferred from the flyer to the skiff and told Badr to get up. When Badr asked what was going on, Lu'lu' replied that no harm would come to him. He had him transferred to the flyer and traveled along with him until they came to an island at al-Ṣāfiyah. He took him out to the island and disembarked with him. He then called for a sword which he had with him, and unsheathed it. Now Badr was certain that he would be killed. He asked Lu'lu' to give him time to pray two *rakʿahs*. Lu'lu' granted him the delay, and Badr prayed two *rakʿahs*. Then Lu'lu' had him step forward and decapitated him. This // was before noon on Friday, Ramaḍān 6, 289 (Saturday, [2214]
August 14, 902).[548] Lu'lu' took Badr's head, returned to the flyer, and went back with the head to the encampment of al-Muktafī at the Diyālā River.

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544 R and Miskawayh (*Tajārib*, V, 28): "Kundājīq."

545 He appears to be known only from this report, unless he was identical with the Lu'lu' mentioned in the text below, 2241. Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 28, speaks of him as one of the noble (*nujabā'*) pages. As a newcomer, he had little choice but to accept what was clearly an unsavory and potentially risky assignment.

546 Another type of boat, commonly translated as above.

547 Described in text above, III, 1893, as located between al-Sīb and Dayr al-ʿĀqūl. The vocalization is uncertain and is seemingly not indicated in the sources. The text in B reads: *wa-man-maʿahū fa-laqiyahum bayn*..." and those who were with him. Then he met them..."

548 The poem which follows this account confirms that the killing took place on Friday.

Badr's corpse was left where it was and remained there. Later his family sent someone secretly to get his corpse. They placed it in a casket and concealed it in their house. During the pilgrimage season, they reportedly carried it to Mecca and buried it there, as he had stipulated in his last will. Before he was killed, he had manumitted all his slaves. After his death, the central authorities took over his estates, farms, houses, and all that he owned.

On Ramaḍān 7, 289 (August 15, 902), the killing of Badr was reported to al-Muktafī. He rode back to Madīnat al-Salām accompanied by the troops that were with him. Badr's head had been brought to him and had reached him before he left his place of encampment. He ordered it cleansed and placed[549] in the treasury.[550]

On Monday, Ramaḍān 8, 289 (Monday, August 16, 902), the qāḍī Abū ʿUmar went back to his house saddened and grieved by his role in the affair. People talked about him and said that it was he who had caused Badr's death. They composed poems about Abū ʿUmar such as:

(1) Ask the qāḍī of the City of al-Manṣūr:
On what grounds did you allow the taking of the amīr's head,
(2) After he was given solemn assurances and
Declarations under oath[551] in an official patent?
(3) Where are your oaths—which God attests
Are the oaths of a wicked man—
(4) That your hands would not let go
[2215] His, until he sees the occupant of the throne? / /
(5) You shameless person and greatest liar
In the community, you perjurer!

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549 R: *fa-jaʿalūhā* "and they placed it."

550 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 29, specifies "treasury of heads." For this term, see, for instance, Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, X, 378, l. 19.

551 *Amān* "safe conduct" appears in authors quoting the verses but may be a simplification. At any rate, Ṭabarī can be assumed to have had *aymān* "oaths."

(6) This is not what judges do and the like of it is just
Not done by those in charge of the bridges.[552]
(7) What did you do on that splendid
Friday in the best of all months!
(8) The one whom you have killed went in Ramaḍān
Fasting after prostration in the dust.[553]
(9) O Banū Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb! The people of
Baghdad have been deceived by you.
(10) May God confound you and may He let me see
You humiliated during the lifetime of this wazīr![554]
(11) Thus prepare for your reply to the Just
Judge after Munkar and Nakīr![555]
(12) All of you be ransom for Abū
Khāzim who is straight in every respect.

On Ramaḍān 9,[556] 289 (August 17, 902), Rundāq al-Saʿīdī, who had earlier been sent as a messenger by Badr to al-Muktafī, together with the nine officers who had been put in fetters, and seven others of Badr's men who had been seized after them, was carried in a ship's hold[557] to al-Baṣrah, where they all were detained in the Baṣrah prison.

Lu'lu', who was charged with Badr's killing, was reportedly a page of Muḥammad b. Hārūn who had killed Muḥammad b.

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552 *Wulāt al-jusūr* is meant to be parallel to "judges" and refers to the high ranking officials in charge of the maintenance of the bridges and the supervision of the bridge traffic. See text above, III, 1727, 2185 (appointment of Ṣāliḥ al-Amīn to the position); text above, III, 2027, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 345 (speaking of Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir); Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 259, ed. Pellat, V, 197 ( in a verse of a poem by Ibn Bassām al-Bassāmī which has *tawallā al-jusūra*, quoted, however, by other authors as *tawallā al-ʿIrāqa*). The plural "bridges" may, in fact, be poetical license for the dual indicating the two main bridges of Baghdad usually referred to in this connection.

553 *Sajdat al-taʿfīr* is an allusion to a ḥadīth, see *Concordance*, IV, 282b60ff. In Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, verse 8 precedes verse 7.

554 "After the humiliation of the wazīr" in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, may be a simplification. In fact, the poet suggests that the wazīr's life will come to a speedy end, and Abū ʿUmar will be humiliated as speedily.

555 Abū ʿUmar will have to justify his action before God on the Last Day, after having undergone in the grave the painful inquisition by the two angels, Munkar and Nakīr.

556 Text: "seven"; read "nine" as in R, since the event is likely to have taken place after Badr's execution. "This year (289)," omitted in the edition, is found in BR.

557 *Safīnah muṭabba/iqah* or *mutḅa/iqah* (see Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 295, 359) seems to refer to a covered boat with a hold suitable for transporting prisoners (as in *muṭbi/aq* "prison" ?).

Zayd in Ṭabaristān and Ukratmush in al-Rayy. He had come to the central authorities in Baghdad to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct together with a number of Muḥammad b. Hārūn's pages.

On Monday night, Ramaḍān 16, 289 (Tuesday, August 24, 902),
[2216] // ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq[558] was reportedly killed. When he was arrested, his mother reportedly sent a nurse of his with him to the house of Mu'nis.[559] He was separated from the nurse, while she remained there for two or three days and was then sent back to the residence of her mistress, the mother of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. The latter was told, whenever she asked about him, that he was in the palace of al-Muktafī and in good health. She hoped that he would stay alive; but when al-Muktafī died, she gave up and held a wake for him.

## ⌈*The Rest of the Important Developments that took Place during the Year 289 (902)*⌉[560]

One of the events was a dispatch which reached the central authorities in Baghdad from Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, the ruler of Khurāsān, on Shaʿbān 20, 289 (June 30, 902). The dispatch contained the information that a battle had taken place in Ṭabaristān between the men of Ismāʿīl b. Ahmad and Ibn Justān al-Daylamī.[561] In the battle, Ismāʿīl's men routed Ibn Justān. The dispatch of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad was read in the two Friday Mosques of Baghdad.

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[558] According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 227ff., ed. Pellat, V, 183f., ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was a rather unimportant and immoral young man. His pension, as well as that of his sisters, is mentioned by Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 25; Busse, "Hofbudget," 27.

[559] According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 227f., ed. Pellat, V, 183, it was the house of Mu'nis al-Faḥl, that is, Mu'nis al-Khāzin. He was named *al-faḥl* in order to distinguish him from all those many eunuchs named Mu'nis, see Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 374, ll. 8f.

[560] The rubric is found in neither R nor C. It owes its existence in B to the fact that at this point a new part of the parts into which the *History* was divided had its beginning.

[561] See text above, III, 1285f.

In this year, after Badr had been killed, one of his men called Isḥāq al-Farghānī[562] went to the desert region together with a number of his men to oppose the central authorities. A battle took place there between him and Abū al-Agharr in which Abū al-Agharr was routed and a number of his men and officers were killed. Thereafter Mu'nis al-Khāzin was sent with a large army to al-Kūfah to fight Isḥāq al-Farghānī. // [2217]

At the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah, 289 (November 5, 902), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Khāqān al-Mufliḥī, and he was put in charge of security in al-Rayy. Five thousand men were attached to him.

In this year, a man who had gathered an army of Arab tribesmen and others appeared in Syria. He went with his men to Damascus where Ṭughj b. Juff was in charge of security on behalf of Hārūn b. Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. This was at the end of the year 289 (December 4, 902). Many people were reportedly killed in the numerous battles that took place between Ṭughj and him.

*A report on the man who appeared in Syria and on the reason for his appearance there*

Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh was, as we have mentioned, the *dā'ī of* Qarmaṭ.[563] When al-Mu'taḍid constantly sent armies against the Qarmaṭians in the Kūfan countryside and persevered in their pursuit, causing them severe losses, Zikrawayh saw that the Qarmaṭians would not be able to defend themselves or find help from the inhabitants of the Sawād. He therefore worked hard at inveigling the Asad, Ṭayyi', Tamīm, and other Arab tribes who lived near al-Kūfah. He tried to convert them to his views and suggested to them that if they were to respond to his call, the Qarmaṭians in the Sawād would join them in his cause. However, they did not respond to his efforts. A number of the Kalb were

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562 No further information about him seems to be available.
563 See *EI*[2], s. v. Ḳarmaṭī. Ṭabarī refers the reader back to III, 2127f. For a revaluation of Ṭabarī's information on the sons of Zikrawayh and their relation to Egyptian Fāṭimid history, see Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs."

protecting[564] the desert road at al-Samāwah, which was located between al-Kūfah and Damascus on the Palmyra Road, and at other places. Their occupation was to move messengers and merchant goods on their camels. Zikrawayh now sent his sons to them. They pledged allegiance to them and mingled among
[2218] them, / / claiming descent from Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar.[565] They mentioned that they were afraid of the central authorities and were seeking refuge with them. The Kalb accepted them on this basis.

The sons of Zikrawayh then made surreptitious propaganda for the views of the Qarmaṭians among them, but none of the Kalbites accepted their views, except a subtribe known as the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ b. Ḍamḍam b. ʿAdī b. Janāb,[566] and especially their *mawlās*. At the end of the year 289 (December 4, 902), they declared allegiance to a son of Zikrawayh named Abū al-Qāsim Yaḥyā in the region of al-Samāwah. They nicknamed him al-Shaykh, a nickname he had given himself because of something he had attempted to do among them.[567] He asserted to them that he was Abū[568] ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad. ⌜According to another report, he asserted that he was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā,[569] and again, that he was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad⌝ b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—although Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl reportedly had no son called ʿAbdallāh.[570] He asserted to them that his father, who was known as Abū Maḥmūd, was a *dāʿī* of his[571] and that he had one hundred

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564 That is, they extorted money from those using the road, as in the text above, III, 2190, and as explained in III, 1010.

565 The abstruse ʿAlid pedigrees claimed by the Qarmaṭian leaders tend to connect them with the Ismāʿīlī (Sevener) Shīʿah and the Egyptian Fāṭimids. See also Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 34.

566 For the ʿUllayṣ, a subdivision of the ʿAbdallāh b. Kinānah/Kalb, see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, table 282; II, 567b.

567 I do not know of any explanation of this statement.

568 R: "Ibn."

569 Was this Yaḥyā the son of the fifth imām Zayd, or the grandson of Yaḥyā b. Zayd who was killed in al-Kūfah in 250 (864) and had once attempted a minor, abortive uprising in 235 (849-50)?

570 ʿAbdallāh, however, also figures in the pedigree of the Egyptian Fāṭimids.

571 It is not clear whether "his" refers to Abū al-Qāsim Yaḥyā or ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.

thousand followers in the Sawād and in the East and West.[572] He also asserted that the she-camel he was riding was blessed[573] and that if they followed her wherever she went, they would be victorious. He acted as a soothsayer among them. He also exhibited // a shortened arm he had and mentioned that this [2219] was his sign. A number of the Banū al-Aṣbagh[574] flocked to him. They showed sincere devotion to him, called themselves Fāṭimids, and adopted his religion.

Subuk al-Daylamī,[575] the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh, pursued them in the region of al-Ruṣāfah[576] in Diyār Muḍar west of the Euphrates, but they launched a surprise attack, killing him and burning down the mosque of al-Ruṣāfah. Attacking every village they passed, they eventually reached the administrative territory of Syria which had been ceded peacefully to Hārūn b. Khumārawayh[577] and which Hārūn had entrusted to Ṭughj b. Juff. Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh now laid siege to Syria. He routed every army of Ṭughj he encountered and eventually pinned him down in the city of Damascus. The Egyptians then dispatched Badr the Elder,[578] the page of Ibn Ṭūlūn, against Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh. Badr joined forces with Ṭughj against Yaḥyā, and he attacked them[579] near Damascus. God killed the enemy of God, Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh. He was reportedly killed, because a Berber struck him with a short spear and then a flame thrower sprayed him with fire, burning him. This was in the midst of the battle at its fiercest point. Then, however, the tide turned against the Egyptians, and they fled.

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572 That is, the provinces east and west of the Iraq.

573 "Blessed (*ma'mūrah*)" refers to the ḥadīth of the "prolific filly (*muhrah ma'mūrah*)," see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CXIX; *Concordance*, I, 100a25; and the dictionaries.

574 See Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, table 282; II, 202a, with the genealogy al-Aṣbagh—ʿAmr—Thaʿlabah—al-Ḥārith—Ḥiṣn—Ḍamḍam.

575 Nothing further seems to be known about him. See below, nn. 590 and 644. The vocalization of the name adopted here follows that in the well-known name Sebuktegin. See A. S. Halkin's translation of Baghdādī, *Farq*, 125, n. 5.

576 That is, the Ruṣāfah of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

577 See text above, III, 2185f.

578 That is, Badr al-Ḥammāmī.

579 Or, "they attacked him."

The *mawlās* of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ ⌜joined the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ ⌝[580] and the Aṣbaghites and others who were with them ⌜and⌝ agreed to install al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh,[581] the brother of the one nicknamed al-Shaykh, as their leader, which they did. Al-Ḥusayn asserted to them that he was Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad and that he was some twenty years old. The one nicknamed al-Shaykh had abetted the *mawlās*
[2220] of the Banū // al-ʿUllayṣ against them, and they had killed a number of them and humiliated them. They now declared allegiance to al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh, who was named Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, after the death of his brother. He exhibited a mole on his face and mentioned that it was his sign. He had been joined recently by the son of his paternal uncle ʿĪsā b. Mihrawayh, who was named ʿAbdallāh.[582] He asserted that he was ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad. Al-Ḥusayn gave ʿAbdallāh the nickname of al-Muddaththir and made a covenant with him. He mentioned that he was the one meant in the *sūrah* in which *al-muddaththir* is mentioned.[583] He nicknamed a servant of his family al-Muṭawwaq[584] and put him in charge of killing captured Muslims. He defeated the Egyptians and the troops of Ḥimṣ and other Syrian cities, and had himself designated from the pulpits as the commander of the faithful. All this took place during *the rest of*[585] 289 and in 290 (902-3).

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[580] The bracketed passage is not found in RB and Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 32, and should probably be omitted.

[581] His history to his death in 291 is known from the following pages. He was nicknamed "Man of the Mole" after the mole on his face, and is commonly referred to by this designation,.

[582] ʿAbdallāh died together with his cousin al-Ḥusayn. See text below, 2245f. There seems to be no additional information about ʿĪsā. Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 118f., speaks of al-Muddaththir as "ʿĪsā, the son of Mihrawayh's sister." See also Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 33.

[583] Qur. 74:1.

[584] A number of vocalizations and explanations of the nickname are possible, but al-Muṭawwaq may be intended to mean "charged with an onerous and difficult duty." Considering his alleged assignment, this seems quite appropriate. Note, however, that the verb as it appears in the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth always appears in a negative context and that he is described as a young boy in the text below, 2343. It is not certain whether *ghulām* is, in fact, meant here to be a servant.

[585] The addition is from RC.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 9, 280 (December 14, 902), when people were praying in summer clothing in Baghdad, the northwind started to blow at the time of the afternoon prayer. It turned so cold that people had to kindle fires to warm themselves and put on padded clothes and overcoats. It became colder and colder until the water froze.

In this year, a battle took place between Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad in al-Rayy and Muḥammad b. Hārūn who at the time reportedly had about eight thousand men under his command. Muḥammad b. Hārūn was routed, and his men separated from him[586] He was followed // by about a thousand of his men to the Daylam [2221] country, and when he arrived there, he asked the Daylam for protection. Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad entered al-Rayy. After the rout about a thousand of Muḥammad b. Hārūn's men reportedly went to the Caliph's court in Baghdad.

⌜On Jumādā II 4, 289 (May 16, 902), al-Qāsim b. Sīmā[587] was put in charge of the summer campaign in the border towns of al-Jazīrah. Thirty-two thousand dīnārs were allocated to him.⌝[588]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hāshimī.[589]

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586 R completes the lacuna in the text: *wa-tafarraqa 'anhu.*

587 Al-Qāsim b. Sīmā al-Farghānī died Friday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 22, 305 (Friday, June 5, 918). See 'Arīb, 68. See also *Eclipse*, I, 15; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 6.

588 For this entry, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 17. It is not found in either R or C, a somewhat unusual agreement between these two manuscripts.

589 Al-Faḍl was the leader of the pilgrimage from 289 through 304. See also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IX, 75, ed. Pellat, V, 299f. His son led the pilgrimage in 305, but he participated in it. He died in Ṣafar, 307 (July, 919). See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 197. 'Arīb, 118, 124, erred when he said that he led the pilgrimage in 311 and 312; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 211, l. 12, names al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hāshimī for the year 312.

Al-Faḍl's full pedigree was al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad. 'Ubaydallāh is usually not included but is likely to be correct; he led the pilgrimage in 187 (803) (see text above, III, 701). Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, a much younger brother of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, was born about four years before the death of his father. He was an important figure during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He died, at the age of sixty-five, in Rajab, 186 (July-August, 802) (Ibn al-Athīr mentions the death of 'Alī b. al-'Abbās, a nephew of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, *sub anno* 186, but this may be an error). Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XI, 124f., tells us that descendants of al-Faḍl were still living in Baghdad in his time, around the middle of the eleventh century.

# The Events of the Year 290

(DECEMBER 5, 902 - NOVEMBER 23, 903)

One of the events that took place this year was that al-Muktafī dispatched an emissary to Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad on al-Muḥarram 2, 290 (December 6, 902). He was accompanied by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ, and he carried robes of honor and Ismāʿīl's letter of appointment as governor of al-Rayy as well as gifts.

On al-Muḥarram 25, 290 (December 29, 902), a dispatch from ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā *b. al-Jarrāḥ* reportedly arrived at Baghdad from al-Raqqah. In it ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā mentioned that the Qarmaṭian Ibn Zikrawayh, known as al-Shaykh, had reached al-Raqqah with many troops. A number of the Caliph's men headed by Subuk,[590] the page of al-Muktafī, went out and attacked him. Subuk was killed, and the Caliph's men were routed.

On Rabīʿ II 6, 290 (March 9, 903), word reached Baghdad that
[2222] Ṭughj b. Juff // had led an army out of Damascus against the Qarmaṭian. It was commanded by a page of his named Bashīr.[591] The Qarmaṭian attacked them, routed the army, and killed Bashīr.

On Rabīʿ II 16, 280 (March 19, 903), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Abū al-Agharr, and he was sent to fight the Qarmaṭian in the Syrian region. He went to Aleppo with ten thousand men.

[590] It would seem that he is identical with Subuk al-Daylamī, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, mentioned in the preceding year (see above, n. 575). Note that the previous report came from west of the desert, and the one here from east of it.

[591] There is no further information about him.

On Rabīʿ II 18, 290 (March 21, 903), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Abū al-ʿAshā'ir Aḥmad b. Naṣr,[592] and he was appointed governor of Ṭarsūs. Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj[593] had been removed from the governorship because of complaints from the inhabitants of the border region against him.

On Jumādā I[594] 15, 290 (April 16, 903), letters from merchants, dated Rabīʿ II 22 (March 25), arrived at Baghdad from Damascus with the information that the Qarmaṭian nicknamed al-Shaykh had routed Ṭughj more than once and killed all but a few of his men. Ṭughj had remained in Damascus with a small group and refused to go out. The populace would gather and go out to fight. They[595] were close to ruin. A number of *them and of the* Baghdādī merchants gathered the very same day to go to *the qāḍī* Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb. They had him read their letters and asked him to go to the wazīr and inform him about the inhabitants of Damascus. He promised them that he would do that.

On Jumādā I 23, 290 (April 24, 903), Abū Khāzim, Yūsuf, and Yūsuf's son Muḥammad were brought to the Caliph's palace simultaneously with the close associate[596] of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth. Peace was made with (Ṭāhir) on condition that he remit the (tax) revenues of Fārs (to the central authorities). Al-Muktafī then appointed Ṭāhir to administrate / / Fārs and [2223]
bestowed a robe of honor upon his close associate. Robes of honor were taken to Ṭāhir together with the letter of appointment.

In Jumādā I, 290 (April 2-May 1, 903), an officer who had sought and obtained a guarantee of safe-conduct, Abū Saʿīd al-Khuwārizmī,[597] fled from Madīnat al-Salām and took the Mosul

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592 Abū al-ʿAshā'ir al-ʿUqaylī was killed in 294 (906). See text below, 2271f. For this and the following item on him, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 18.

593 See above, n. 401.

594 R: "Jumādā II."

595 The merchants may be meant rather than the Damascenes in general. The addition in R in the following sentence referring to "them" probably indicates that some of the Damascene merchants had come to Baghdad.

596 The identity of this *ṣāḥib* (approximately translated "close associate") remains to be established.

597 I have no further information about him.

Road. Orders that he be confronted and seized were sent to ʿAbdallāh who was known as Ghulām Nūn,[598] who was in charge of security in Takrīt and adjoining administrative districts to the borders of Sāmarrā; (similar orders were also sent) to Mosul. ʿAbdallāh supposedly confronted Abū Saʿīd, but Abū Saʿīd deceived him, so that the two came together peacefully. Abū Saʿīd then assaulted ʿAbdallāh, killing him. He then went on to Shahrazūr. He joined up with Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ al-Kurdī and married into his family.[599] The two agreed to rebel against the central authorities. Abū Saʿīd was killed afterwards, and those who had gathered around him dispersed.

On Jumādā II 10, 290 (May 11 903), Abū al-ʿAshā'ir left for his administrative post in Ṭarsūs, and a number of volunteers left with him to undertake raids. He carried with him gifts for the Byzantine ruler from al-Muktafī.

After the afternoon prayer on Jumādā II, 19, 290 (May 20, 903), al-Muktafī left Baghdad for Sāmarrā with the intention of undertaking construction and moving there. He entered Sāmarrā on Thursday, Jumādā II 24, 290 (Wednesday, May 25, 903), and then departed for tents which had been set up for him in al-Jawsaq.[600] He summoned al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh and the men in charge of construction, and they gave him an estimate of its cost. They made it a high estimate and said that it would take a long time to finish construction of what he wanted to build. Al-Qāsim undertook to change al-Muktafī's mind by describing the expenditures
[2224] as too great. The estimated amount of money // deterred al-Muktafī,[601] and he gave up his plan. He called for lunch and after eating went to sleep. When he woke up, he rode to the bank of the river and took a seat in a flyer. Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh ordered *the people* to go back down to Baghdad. Most people turned

598 The final letter is *r* or *d* in CR, instead of *n*. Further information would be needed to establish the correct form of the name and the identity of the individual.
599 Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ al-Kurdī, about whom I have no further information, probably made Abū Saʿīd his son-in-law, but other relationships are possible.
600 That is, the famous palace in Sāmarrā.
601 R: *fa-naqalahū*, instead of *fa-thanāhu* in the edition.

back before reaching Sāmarrā when they were met by those who were on their way back down.

On Rajab[602] 9, 290 (June 8, 903), robes of honor were bestowed upon the two sons of al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh.[603] The older son was put in charge of the estates of the (Caliph's) offspring and wives as well as expenditures, while the younger son was appointed secretary to Abū Aḥmad,[604] the son of al-Muktafī. These offices had belonged to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī, who was removed from them. Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh had suspected that al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī had been approaching al-Muktafī to intrigue against him, and he was showing open hostility to him in the presence of the Caliph. As a result, al-Qāsim continuously intrigued against al-Ḥusayn and hardened al-Muktafī's heart against him, until he accomplished what he wished would happen to al-Ḥusayn.[605]

On Friday, Shaʿbān 16, 290 (Friday, July 15, 903), two dispatches were read in the two Friday Mosques of Madīnat al-Salām. They announced that Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh, nicknamed al-Shaykh, had been killed by the Egyptians at the gate of Damascus. There had been continuous battles between him and the inhabitants of Damascus, their soldiers, and the Egyptian reinforcements. He had broken their forces, killing many of them in the process

That Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh used to ride a camel saddled for him[606] and wear wide garments, an Arab tribal // head covering, [2225] and a veil. From the time he first appeared he never rode on horseback until the day he was killed. He had given orders to his men not to engage anyone in combat, even of they were attacked, until the camel would move by itself. He told them that if they did that, they would never be defeated. He mentioned[607] that if he

[602] Text: "seven"; read "nine" as in RC.
[603] The two sons were al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad. The date of al-Ḥusayn's death is not securely attested; it probably was 322 (934). See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, II, 745, 463ff. Muḥammad died in 321 (933). See Sourdel, II, 476-78.
[604] Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. al-Muktafī was involved in conspiracies in 318 (930) (ʿArīb, 152) and 320-1 (932-3) (ʿArīb, 185; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 77; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, XI, 172f.). He died in 321 (933). See also below, n. 707.
[605] As described in the text below, 2230.
[606] R: *yurḥalu lahū*.
[607] The active here seems preferable to the passive.

should point his hand in the direction of those fighting him, the people there would be routed. In this way, he deceived the Arab tribesmen.[608]

On the day Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh, nicknamed al-Shaykh, was killed, his men rallied around his brother al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh; al-Ḥusayn searched for his brother among those killed, and having found his corpse, he concealed it. He had himself acknowledged as leader and called himself Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh. Badr's[609] men later realized that al-Shaykh had been killed, and searched for his corpse among those killed but could not find it.

Al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh propagandized as his brother had done. Most of the tribesmen and others from among all the people (in the region) responded to his call. He gained great strength, came out in the open, and marched on Damascus. The inhabitants of Damascus reportedly concluded a truce with him in return for the payment of tax money. Following this he left them. He then moved on the environs of Ḥimṣ and seized control of the city. His name was mentioned from the pulpits during the Friday service. He called himself al-Mahdī.[610] He then moved on the city of Ḥimṣ. Fearing for their lives, its inhabitants declared their loyalty and opened the city gate to him. He entered Ḥimṣ, and then moved from there on Ḥamāh, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, and other cities, killing their inhabitants, including women, *children,* and infants. Then he moved on Baʿlabakk and killed most of its inhabitants, until only a few ⌜reportedly⌝
[2226] were left. From there he moved on // Salamyah,[611] but its inhabitants fought and prevented him from entering. He thereupon made promises to them, granting them a guarantee of safe-conduct. As a result, they opened the city gate to him, and he entered Salamyah. First he began killing the Hāshimites, a number of whom lived there. Then, he killed all the inhabitants.

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608 Miskawayh, in his quotation (*Tajārib*, V, 33), summarized this paragraph in the words: "He used to claim to be a prophet and soothsayer."

609 That is, Badr al-Ḥammāmī.

610 That is, he claimed to be the expected redeemer (*mahdī*). See also the prominent position accorded to this claim in the protocol of the Qarmaṭian leader (see below, 2232).

611 The reputed home of the Egyptian Fāṭimids and, as we see here, a preferred place of residence for the ʿAbbāsid/Hāshimite aristocracy in Syria.

He slaughtered the animals and afterwards the school children. Following this he departed, reportedly leaving not a living soul there. He then moved on the surrounding villages, killing, taking captives, burning, and making the roads unsafe.

The following story is told on the authority of a physician from Bāb al-Muḥawwal,[612] called Abū al-Ḥasan:

After the Qarmaṭian Man of the Mole and his men had been brought to Baghdad,[613] a woman came to me and said that she had a problem with her shoulder which she wanted me to treat. When I asked her what it was, she replied that it was a wound. I said that I was an eye doctor, but that there was a woman here who treated women and also wounds; she should wait for her to come. She sat down, and I saw that she was sad and crying. I asked her what was the matter with her and what had caused her wound? She replied that hers was a long story. I told her to tell me as she would a friend, now that the people who were in my home[614] had gone.

She said: I had a son who had been away for a long time. He had left sisters of his for me to take care of. I was in tight circumstances and in need, and I longed for him. He had gone to the region of al-Raqqah. I therefore left for Mosul, Balad, and al-Raqqah, all the while searching for him and asking about him, but I was unable to find him.

Having left al-Raqqah in search of him, I came upon the Qarmaṭian camp. I began to walk around, looking for him. While doing that, I saw him. I clung to him and said, "Son!," and he said, "(You are) my mother?" I answered, "Yes," and he said, "How are my sisters doing?" I replied, "They are well." I complained *to him* // about the tight circumstances we had gotten [2227]
into after he had left. He took me to his residence and sat in front

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[612] For Bāb al-Muḥawwal, see Lassner, *Topography*, 247. I have not succeeded in identifying Abū al-Ḥasan.

The following story, which in contrast to the frequent documents is pure fiction, is nevertheless most illuminating with respect to the Qarmaṭian phenomenon. It is also an extraordinary specimen of the art of storytelling hardly matched elsewhere in Arabic literature with its genius for the genre. Carefully constructed for maximum suspense and effect, it contains subtle descriptions of human character and skillfully intermingles personal experiences with highly tendentious and inflammable political propaganda.

[613] For al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh's humiliating end in Baghdad, see text below, 2245.

[614] That is, the patients in his waiting room.

of me. He started *talking to me*, asking for news about us, and I told him. Then he said, "Don't tell me anymore about that! Tell me what is your religion?" I replied, "Why are you asking me about my religion when you know me and you know what my religion is?" He replied, "All the beliefs we once held are wrong. The (true) religion is the beliefs we are holding now." I thought this exceedingly strange. When he noticed my reaction, he went out and left me. Then he sent me bread and meat and things good for him[615] and told me to cook, but I left it all untouched. He came back later, cooked the food, and cleansed his place.

Someone knocked at the door. He went out, and there was a man there who asked him whether that woman who had come to him knew how to take care of certain matters pertaining to women. My son asked me, and I said that I did. The man then told me to come with him. I went with him, and he brought me into a house where there was a woman about to give birth. I seated myself in front of her and started to talk to her, but she did not respond. The man who brought me to her then said to me, "You don't have to talk to her. Take good care of her business and don't talk to her!" I stayed until she gave birth to a boy, and I took care of him. I started to talk to her kindly and said, "Woman! Don't be bashful with me! You are obligated to me. Let me hear your story and tell me who is the father of this child!" She said, "Are you asking me about his father, so that you can go to him and ask him for a gift?" I replied, "No! I just want to know your story."

She told me, "I am a Hāshimite women." She raised her head,
[2228] and I saw the most beautiful // face. "Those people came to us and slaughtered my father, my mother, my brothers, and my entire family. Their leader then seized me, and I stayed with him five days. He then took me out and handed me over to his men, saying to them, 'Cleanse her!'[616] They meant to kill me, and I cried. One of his officers present said, 'Give her to me!', to which he responded, 'Take her!' So he took me. But three of his men were standing in his presence. They drew their swords and said, 'We shall not hand her over to you. Hand her over to us, or

[615] Text: "good for me"; read as in RC.
[616] That is, "kill her." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCXLIII.

we shall kill you.' They meant to kill me and caused a stir. Their Qarmaṭian leader called and asked them what was the matter, and they told him. He said, 'She shall belong to all four of you.' They took me, and I stayed with the four of them. By God, I do not know which of them is the father of this boy."

(The woman in Baghdad) continued: After the evening prayer, a man came, and she told me to congratulate him. I congratulated him on the newborn child, and he gave me a silver ingot. Another man, and still another came. I congratulated each one, and each gave me a silver ingot. At dawn, a group of people came with a man. A torch was carried before him. He wore silk clothes, and the smell of musk emanated from him. She told me to congratulate him. I rose and went to him and said, "May God gladden your face! Praised be God who has given you this son!" I blessed him, and he gave me an ingot weighing a thousand dirhams.[617] The man spent the night in one room, and I spent the night with the woman in another.

In the morning, I said to her , "Woman! You are obligated to me. For God's sake, set me free!" When she asked me from what she should set me free, I told her about my son, saying, "I came because I wanted him. He told me such // and such things. I [2229]
cannot do anything with him.[618] I have *little* daughters, unable to take care of themselves, whom I left behind in the worst possible condition. Therefore set me free, so that I can leave here and rejoin my daughters!" She said to me, "You have to ask the man who was the last to come. Ask him for it, and he will set you free." I stayed all day until evening. When he came back, I approached him, kissed his hand and foot, and said, "My lord, you are obligated to me. God has enriched me through you and your gift. I have poor daughters unable to take care of themselves. If you allow me to go, I shall bring my daughters, and they shall be before you and serve you." He said, "Will you do that?" When I said I would, he called some of his pages and told them to escort me to such and such a place and then leave me and come back. They had me mount a horse and escorted me *to the place.*

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617 Roughly three thousand grams.

618 That is, probably, I cannot get any help from him.

She continued: While we were traveling, suddenly here was my son galloping along. We had already traveled ten *farsakhs* (sixty km), or so the people who were with me told me. He came up to me *where we were* and said, "You whore! You plan to go and bring your daughters?" He drew his sword to strike me. The people *who were with me* restrained him, but the edge of his sword touched me and entered my shoulder. The people drew their swords, intending to get at him. He therefore drew away from me.[619] They took me to the place which their master had designated, and then left me and went away. When I arrived here, I made the rounds *of the physicians in Baghdad* in order to find someone to treat my wound. This place was described to me, and so I have come here.

⌜She continued:⌝ When the Commander of the Faithful arrived with the captured Qarmaṭian and his men, I went out to look at
[2230] them. Among them I saw // my son upon a camel wearing a hood and crying; he was a young man. I said to him, "May God not grant you relief and escape!"

The physician said: When the woman doctor came, I took her to her and commended her to her care. She treated her wound and gave her a salve. After she had left, I asked the woman doctor about her. She said, "I had my hand placed upon the wound and told her to exhale. She did, and the breath came out through the wound underneath my hand. I do not think she will recover." She went off and did not return to us.

On Shawwāl 18, 290 (September 14, 903), al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh had al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī arrested and incarcerated. That was because al-Ḥusayn had constantly intrigued against him and slandered him in the presence of al-Muktafī. Eventually (the Caliph) ordered (al-Qāsim) to arrest him. When al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr was arrested, his secretary who was known as al-Shīrāzī[620] fled. He was sought, the residences of his neighbors were raided, and a certain sum was announced as a reward for finding him, but he was not found. On Shawwāl 22, 290 (September 18, 903), al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr was returned to his residence on condition that

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619 R: "them."

620 I have no further information about him.

he leave Baghdad. On the following Friday (September 23, 903), he left, going toward Wāsiṭ into exile. His secretary al-Shīrāzī was found on Dhū al-Qaʿdah[621] 3, 290 (September 28, 903).

On Ramaḍān 2, 290 (July 30, 903), al-Muktafī gave orders that the army be given its allotments and made ready to go to war with the Qarmaṭian in Syria. One hundred thousand dīnārs were allocated to the army all at once. This was because // the Egyptians[622] had written to al-Muktafī and complained about their suffering at the hands of Zikrawayh's son known as the Man of the Mole. He was devastating the country and killing the people. They had also suffered earlier at the hands of his brother; the two had killed their men, and only a few were now left. [2231]

⌜On Ramaḍān 5, 290 (August 2, 903), al-Muktafī's tents were taken out and set up at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah.⌝ At dawn on Ramaḍān 7,[623] (August 4, 903), al-Muktafī went to his tent at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah accompanied by his officers, pages, and troops. On Ramaḍān 12 (August 9), he left his tent at dawn and took to the Mosul Road. On Ramaḍān 15 (August 12), Abū al-Agharr went to Aleppo. He encamped at Wādī Buṭnān near Aleppo together with all his men. ⌜A number of his men took off⌝ their clothes and went into the river[624] to cool off in the water, because it was a very hot day. While they were thus engaged, the army of the Qarmaṭian known as the Man of the Mole came *upon them*, preceded by[625] the man known as al-Muṭawwaq. He surprised them in this condition and killed a large number of them and looted their camp. Abū al-Agharr fled with a number of his men and entered Aleppo; about a thousand men escaped with him. He had had about ten thousand horsemen and foot soldiers, since a number of officers and men of the Farghānah contingent from the Caliph's court had been attached to him. Only a few of them escaped. The Qarmaṭian's men arrived at

621 R: "Ramaḍān."
622 "Egyptians" refers to the armed forces in Syria under Egyptian control. Understandably, R reads "Syrians," and Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 35, has "Egyptians and Syrians."
623 C: "six"; R: "nine."
624 Wādī Buṭnān was located east of Aleppo. The river (*wādī*) meant here is the Nahr al-Dhahab. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 389.
625 R: "with their leader," for "preceded by."

the gate of Aleppo where Abū al-Agharr and his remaining men fought him along with local people. After a battle between them, the Qarmaṭians left (Abū al-Agharr), taking with them the horses, weapons, money ⌜and goods⌝ that they had taken from the camp. Al-Muktafī moved on with the troops who were with him
[2232] // and eventually reached al-Raqqah. He encamped there and sent one army after the other against the Qarmaṭian.

On Shawwāl ⌜2, 290 (August 29, 903)⌝, a dispatch from al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh arrived at Madīnat al-Salām. In it, al-Qāsim reported that a dispatch had reached him from Damascus from Badr al-Ḥammāmī, the close associate of Ibn Ṭūlūn, with the information that he had attacked the Qarmaṭian Man of the Mole; he had routed him and put his men to the sword. Those who escaped had fled toward the desert. The dispatch went on to indicate that the Commander of the Faithful had sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān ⌜b. Ḥamdūn⌝ and other officers in pursuit of him.

In these days, ⌜another⌝ dispatch reportedly arrived at Baghdad from the amīr of al-Baḥrayn, Ibn Bānū.[626] In it, he mentioned that he had made a surprise attack upon a stronghold of the Qarmaṭians and overcome its occupants.

On Dhū al-Qaʿdah ⌜13, 290 (October 8, 903), another⌝ dispatch reportedly arrived at Baghdad from ⌜Ibn Bānū in⌝ al-Baḥrayn. In it, he mentioned that he had attacked relatives of Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī as well as the person al-Jannābī had appointed to lead his loyal followers after his death,[627] and he had routed him. That person was installed in al-Qaṭīf. After his men were routed, he was found dead among those killed. Ibn Bānū then had his head cut off. The dispatch went on to indicate that he then conquered and entered al-Qaṭīf.

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626 Ibn Bānū's position appears to have been that of the government's military representative in a very troubled region. It is possible that Khalaf b. Aḥmad b. Bānū, who is mentioned in 354 (965) (Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 190; *Eclipse*, Index), was related to him, perhaps his son. However, there is no supporting evidence for this assumption.

627 I have not succeeded in determining the identity of this "crown prince (*walī al-ʿahd*)." The title may, or may not, be germane to the Qarmaṭians.

A letter of the Man of the Mole to one of his officials:[628]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

From the servant of God Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh, the Mahdī, the One Supported by God, the Supporter of the Religion of God, the Executor of the Command of God, the Administrator according to the Judgment of God,[629] the Missionary for the Book of God, the Defender of the Sacred Territory[630] of God, the Chosen One of the Children of the Messenger of God, the Commander // of the Faithful and the Imām of the Muslims, the Humbler of the Hypocrites, the Lieutenant of God in charge of the Worlds, the Reaper of the Wrongdoers, the Breaker of the Transgressors, the Vanquisher of the Heretics, the Slayer of the Evildoers, the Destroyer of the Wicked, the Lamp of those who can see and the Light of those who wish to see light, the Scatterer of the Opponents, the Administrator of the Tradition (*sunnah*) of Those Sent as Messengers,[631] the Descendant of the Best of Legatees,[632] God bless him and the goodly people of his house and make them prosper mightily! [2233]

To Jaʿfar b. Ḥumayd al-Kurdī:[633] Greetings to you! I praise in your behalf God, but Whom there is no other God, and I ask Him to pray for my ancestor Muḥammad, the Messenger of God *and his family*.

Information has reached us about the events caused in your parts by the unbelieving enemies of God, the things they have done in your region, and the wrongdoing, harass-

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628 The complete authenticity of the following two documents is virtually certain. It is confirmed by the fact that they have apparently little direct bearing upon the events of the year but are used to convey the flavor of the way in which the Qarmaṭian organization was run. Both indicate the independence of local commanders, in spite of their expressions of subservience to the leader of the sect. Cf. Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 42-44, for a discussion and translation of the letters.

629 It may be noted that the preceding titles reappear later among the throne names of the Egyptian Fāṭimids. See Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 42f.

630 This seems to be the intended meaning of *ḥarīm Allāh*. Ibn Taghrībirdī has, in fact, *ḥaram Allāh* (*Nujūm*, III, 206f.), but this seems to be a simplification, or rather an error.

631 The addition in the Cairo edition: "...Tradition of (the Lord of)..." appears to have no manuscript authority.

632 That is, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

633 There is no further information about him.

ment,[634] and corruption ⌜on earth⌝ they have manifested. We have found it outrageous and consider it appropriate to dispatch our troops there. Through them, God will take revenge on His wrongdoing enemies who "eagerly cause corruption on earth."[635] We have dispatched our *dāʿī* ʿUṭayr[636] and a number of the Faithful to the city of Ḥimṣ and have reinforced them with troops. We are following behind them. We have suggested to them that they march toward your region and seek out the enemies of God wherever they are. We do hope that God will let us proceed with respect to them in the best fashion we are accustomed to from Him with respect to the likes of them. It is necessary for you to fortify your heart and the hearts of your associates who are with you, and to trust in God and in His support, which He has always and customarily given us with respect to everybody
[2234] who has deviated from obeying Him // and has strayed from the faith.

God willing, let us quickly have reports about news in your region and do not conceal anything from us!

"Glory to you, O God! Their greeting in Paradise is 'Welcome!' and the end of their call is that 'Praise is due to God, the Lord of the Worlds.' "[637] May God bless my ancestor Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, and the people of his house and make them prosper mightily!

A copy of a letter of one of his officials to him:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

To the Servant of God Aḥmad, the Imām, the Mahdī, the One Supported by God—followed by all the titles as in the copy of his letter to his official just quoted by us to "Descendant of the Best Legatees, may God bless him and the goodly people of his house and make them prosper mightily," continuing:

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634 Text: ʿ*abath* "nonsense"; read ʿ*ayth*, as in R and the Cairo edition.
635 Qur. 5:33, 64.
636 See text below, 2287 (ʿArīb, 36). For *dāʿiyatanā*, R clearly reads *rāʿiyanā*.
637 Qur. 10:10.

From ʿĀmir b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAnqāʾī:[638] Greetings to the Commander of the Faithful ⌜and the mercy and blessings of God upon him!

May God give⌝ the Commander of the Faithful a long life, and may He make his power, aid, help, well-being, nobility, ⌜grace,⌝ and happiness last! May He pour His favors upon him and increase His kindness and generosity to him!

The letter of my lord, the Commander of the Faithful—May God give him a long life!—has arrived. In it, he informs me that some victorious troops together with one of his officers have been dispatched to our region for the holy war against the enemies of God, the Banū al-Fuṣayṣ,[639] and the traitor Ibn Duḥaym, and that they are to seek them out wherever they are and attack them and their associates and their estates. He—May God make his power last!—is ordering me, upon seeing // this letter, to set out to meet them[640] with [2235] all the men and tribesmen of mine that I can muster, to aid and support the army, to march with them, and to do all they indicate[641] and command. I have understood his letter.

No sooner had this letter reached me—may God give power to the Commander of the Faithful—than the ⌜victorious⌝ troops arrived. They reached an area within the region controlled by Ibn Duḥaym and turned back with the letter that had reached them from the *dāʿī* Masrūr b. Aḥmad[642] (asking them) to meet him in the city of Afāmiyah.

Then, about the same time as the letter whose contents I have reported in the beginning of the letter reached me, a letter ⌜from Masrūr b. Aḥmad⌝[643] reached me. In it, Masrūr ordered me to gather my available men and tribesmen and set out and come to him. He warned me not to stay away. His letter reached me when it had become clear to us that the

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[638] There is no further information on him, and the reading ʿAnqāʾī is conjectural. A locality ʿAnqāʾ existed in Arabia, see Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, 881.

[639] See text below, 2239. For their presence in Lādhiqiyyah in 319 (931), see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, I, 97. I have not succeeded in identifying Ibn Duḥaym.

[640] Probably, the support troops. The pronoun might, however, refer to the enemy.

[641] R: *wa-al-ʿamal (?) bi-kull mā yakūn mim-mā yūm(i')ūna bihī*. See C.

[642] There seems to be no further information on him.

[643] This is another letter from Masrūr different from the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

deviator Subuk,[644] the slave of Mufliḥ, had come to the city of ʿIrqah[645] with about a thousand men, horsemen and foot soldiers, and was within sight of our region and location. Now, Aḥmad b. al-Walīd,[646] the slave of the Commander of the Faithful—May God give him a long life!—has sent messengers to all his men, and I have sent messengers to all my men. We have gathered them around us and have sent spies to the region of ʿIrqah, in order to obtain reports about that traitor and where he wants to go, so that we can proceed accordingly. ⌜We hope that God in His kindness and might will overpower and subdue him. Had that deviator not come to this region⌝ and were he not close to our location, I would not have postponed setting out with all my men for the city
[2236] of Afāmiyah to join forces with the people[647] // who are staying there, in order to fight the holy war against ⌜those who are in⌝ that region, until God, the Best of Judges, passes judgment between us.[648]

This is to inform my lord, the Commander of the Faithful—May God give him a long life!—why I have stayed away from Masrūr b. Aḥmad, so that he will know my reason. If he—May God make his power last!—later orders me to proceed to Afāmiyah, I shall proceed, God willing, in accordance with his view and obey his command.

⌜May God's favors materialize for the Commander of the Faithful! May He make his power and well-being last! May He let him enjoy His generosity, and may He clothe him in His beneficent care!⌝ Peace be upon the Commander of the Faithful and the mercy and blessings of God! Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds! May God bless ⌜the Prophet⌝ Muḥammad and the pure[649] and chosen people of his house!

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644 Apparently, Subuk al-Mufliḥī who was governor of al-Baṣrah when he was killed in 311 (923). See ʿArīb, 111; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 40; see also Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 300. The Mufliḥ in question was killed in 258 (872). See text above, III, 1862. Although the time frame of the letters is uncertain, an identification with the aforementioned Subuk al-Daylamī (see above nn. 575 and 590) may be ruled out.

645 About twenty-four km east of Ṭarābulus, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 653. See also Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, 80ff. (ʿArqa).

646 There is no further information about him.

647 Text: *al-quwwād* "the officers"; read *al-qawm* "(army) people" as in RC.

648 See Qur. 10:109, 12:80.

649 R: "good."

In this year, al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh sent troops against the Man of the Mole, putting Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kātib, who headed the Dīwān of the Army, in charge of the campaign. Al-Qāsim attached all the officers to him and commanded them to obey him loyally. Muḥammad proceeded from al-Raqqah with a substantial army and wrote the officers in advance of him that they were to obey him loyally.

In this year, two emissaries of the Byzantine ruler, one of them a eunuch and the other not, arrived in Baghdad. They came to ask (al-Muktafī) to enter into ransom negotiations for the Muslims whom the Byzantine ruler was holding captive. They brought presents from the Byzantine ruler as well as several Muslim captives he was sending to the Caliph. Their request was granted, and robes of honor were bestowed upon them.[650]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌈b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.⌉ // [2237]

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[650] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 18. It may be noted that this passage does not occur in either R or C. Although it is found only in B, there is no reason to doubt that it belonged to some recension of the *History*.

# The ⌜Important⌝ Events of the Year 291

## (NOVEMBER 24, 903 - NOVEMBER 12, 904)

One of the events was the battle between the government forces and the Man of the Mole *and his men*.

## *The Report on this Battle*

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: As has already been mentioned, al-Muktafī had marched from Madīnat al-Salām to war against the Man of the Mole. He had reached al-Raqqah and deployed his troops between Aleppo and Ḥimṣ. He had put Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ⌜al-Kātib⌝ in charge of the campaign against the Man of the Mole and given him command of his troops and officers. Now, at the beginning of this year, al-Muktafī's wazīr al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh wrote to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and the government officers ordering them to take a stand against the Man of the Mole and his men. They marched ⌜against him⌝ and eventually reached a location that was reportedly twelve *mīl* (twenty-four km) from Ḥamāh.[651] There, ⌜on Tuesday,⌝ al-Muḥarram 6, 291 (Tuesday, November 29, 903), they encountered the Qarmaṭian's men. He had sent them in advance, while he himself remained behind with a number of others; he had with him money that he had accumulated. His train was placed by him in the rear. A battle broke out between the government forces and those of the Qarmaṭian, and the fighting became fierce. The Qarmaṭian's men were routed, and many of them were killed or captured. The rest dispersed in the desert. They were pursued by the govern-

[651] This place is apparently the same as the one later described as the camp of the Qarmaṭians, see below, n. 661.

ment forces during Wednesday night,[652] al-Muḥarram 7, 291 (Wednesday, November 30, 903). When the Qarmaṭian saw how his men had been defeated and routed, he reportedly had // Abū [2238] al-Faḍl,[653] a brother of his, transport money, ordering him to stay in the desert until he himself would appear at a certain location, and then he should come to him. The Qarmaṭian himself, his cousin al-Muddaththir, his close associate al-Muṭawwaq, and a Byzantine page of his mounted, and, taking a guide, they rode off straight across the desert in the direction of al-Kūfah. When he eventually reached a place known as al-Dāliyah[654] in the administrative district of the Euphrates Road, their provisions and fodder had run out. He sent one of the men who were with him to obtain for him[655] whatever was needed. The man entered al-Dāliyah, which was known as Dāliyat Ibn Ṭawq, to buy what he needed. People did not recognize the dress he was wearing, and, when asked about his business, he fumbled. A report was then made to the man in charge of the regional armory, a man known as Abū Khubzah,[656] the lieutenant of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kushmard,[657] the official of the Commander of the Faithful al-Muktafī in charge of the security of al-Raḥbah and the Euphrates Road. Abū Khubzah rode out with a number of people and asked the man about his story. He informed him that the Man of the Mole was behind a hill there with three persons. Abū Khubzah went and seized them and brought them to his master, Ibn Kushmard, who, with Abū Khubzah, took them to al-Muktafī in al-Raqqah. The troops returned from pursuing the enemy after killing or capturing all the allies and partisans of the Qarmaṭian that they could.

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652 That is, immediately after the Tuesday battle on the night from Tuesday to Wednesday.

653 For Abū al-Faḍl's activities two years later, see text below, 2255f. (ʿArīb, 9). Although no name is mentioned there, the same individual is likely to be meant. R: "Abū al-ʿAbbās."

654 The waterwheel (*dāliyah*) of Mālik b. Ṭawq was located on the western bank of the Euphrates between ʿĀnah and al-Raḥbah (=Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq). Its claim to historical fame is the event described here. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 538. On Mālik b. Ṭawq and the suspected confusion with his father Ṭawq b. Mālik, see text above, I, 117; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 407, n. 2. For the equation of al-Dāliyah with al-Ṣāliḥiyyah/Dura-Europos, see Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 49, n. 96.

655 R: "for them."

656 No further information about him is available.

657 See above, n. 398.

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān sent the wazīr the following victory dispatch:[658]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

I hope that God willing, the previous dispatches I have sent to the wazīr—May God give him strength!—concerning the accursed Qarmaṭian and his partisans have arrived.

[2239] On // Tuesday, al-Muḥarram 6, 291 (Tuesday, November 29, 903), I moved from the place known as al-Qarwānah to a place known as al-ʿAlyānah[659] with the entire army of allies. We advanced in battle order, center, right wing, left wing, and so on. I had not gone far when a report reached me indicating that the Qarmaṭian unbeliever had dispatched al-Nuʿmān, the son of the brother of Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān,[660] one of his *dāʿīs*, with three thousand horsemen and a large number of foot soldiers. He had encamped in a place known as Tmnʿ[661] twelve *mīl* [twenty-four km] from Ḥamāh; all the horsemen and foot soldiers from Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and the region of the Fuṣayṣ and other regions had joined him. I kept this information concealed from the officers and everybody else and did not reveal it. I asked the guide who was with me about the distance between us and that place. He said that it was six *mīl* (twelve km).

Putting my trust in Almighty God, I ordered the guide to march against (al-Nuʿmān), ⌈and he took everybody along⌉.[662] We marched until I reached the unbelievers. I found them arrayed in battle order, and we[663] saw their vanguards. When they noticed our approach, they moved toward us, and we

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658 Although Ṭabarī often refers to and also briefly quotes ʿAbbāsid victory dispatches (see, for instance, text above, III, 2141f.), this is the first long and detailed example he gives for a literary genre which gained particular importance in Ottoman times. See *EI²*, s. v. fatḥnāme. See also Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, 265f. The long report on the suppression of internal unrest (text above, III, 1565ff.) represents a different type of dispatch.

659 Both the locations and the forms of the names of these places are not known.

660 For Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān, see below, n. 704. I have no further information on his nephew beyond Ṭabarī's text.

661 R: "Tamīʿ." The form of the name is uncertain. Map VIII of Dussand, *Topographie historique*, shows, "Temania" north of Ḥamāh at a slightly greater distance, but the two names most probably have nothing to do with each other. See also above, n. 651.

662 The meaning is not quite certain.

663 R: "I."

moved toward them. They were divided into ⌜six⌝ squadrons. According to information given me by one of their leaders whom I overpowered, they had put in charge of their left wing Masrūr al-ʿUlaymī,[664] Abū al-Ḥiml,[665] a page of Hārūn al-ʿUllayṣī, Abū al-ʿAdhāb, Rajāʾ, Ṣāfī, and Abū Yaʿlā al-ʿAlawī with one thousand five hundred horsemen. Behind their left wing, and opposite our right wing, they had set up an ambush[666] with four hundred horsemen. In the center, they had placed al-Nuʿmān al-ʿUllayṣī, the one known as Abū // al-Ḥṭy, and al-Ḥmʾry[667] and a number of (command- [2240]
ers) like them[668] with one thousand four hundred horsemen and three thousand foot soldiers. On their right wing, they had placed Kulayb al-ʿUllayṣī, a man known as al-Sadīd[669] al-ʿUllayṣī, al-Ḥusayn ⌜b.⌝ al-ʿUllayṣī, Abū al-Jarrāḥ al-ʿUllayṣī, Ḥamdūn[670] al-ʿUllayṣī, and a number of (commanders) like them. They had one thousand four hundred horsemen with them, and they had set up an ambush with two hundred horsemen. They advanced steadily toward us, while we were marching toward them in closed formation,[671] putting our trust in Almighty God. I had urged on the allies, the pages, and all the other men with promises.

When we were in sight of each other, the squadron on their left wing attacked, whipping (their horses), and moved toward al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān,[672] who was on the flank of the right wing. Al-Ḥusayn—May God bless him and give him a good reward!—personally confronted them with all

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664 Text: "al-ʿUllayṣī"; read "al-ʿUlaymī," as in RC. No further information on the Qarmaṭian officers mentioned here is likely to exist.
665 RC: "al-Jamal."
666 "Reserve force" would be somewhat more to the point. See text below, 2263.
667 R: "al-Ḥuṭṭī" and "al-Ḥammūnī." The correct forms of the names cannot be established.
668 Text: *bṭlānihim* (?), apparently meant to have the same meaning as *abṭāl* "heroes," is highly dubious. R and, if I am not mistaken, C have *nuẓarāʾihim*, as translated above.
669 R: "Abū al-Shadīd."
670 Text: "Ḥumayd"; read Ḥamdūn as in R.
671 Lit., "not dispersing."
672 Possibly, "al-Ḥusayn...started moving." Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 38, in summarizing the victory dispatch, states that al-Ḥusayn was the architect of the victory and that he was praised very highly for this by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān.

the men who were with him.[673] Using their lances, they broke them in the Qarmaṭians' breasts, whereupon (the Qarmaṭians) withdrew from them. When the Qarmatians resumed their attack against them, they took their swords, striking the enemy in their faces. During the first onslaught, six hundred horsemen of the wicked unbelievers fell. Al-Ḥusayn's men seized five hundred horses and four hundred silver necklaces. The Qarmaṭians turned their backs and fled, and al-Ḥusayn pursued them. They counter-attacked incessantly, making onslaught after onslaught. In the course of these engagements, one group of theirs after the other fell, until Almighty God had annihilated them. Less than two hundred of their men escaped.

The squadron on their right wing attacked al-Qāsim b. Sīmā and Yumn al-Khādim[674] and the Banū Shaybān and Banū Tamīm who were with them. They confronted them
[2241] with their lances, until // they broke them in the enemy, and they grappled with each other. A large number of the wicked were killed. At the time of their onslaught, they were attacked by Khalīfah b. al-Mubārak[675] and Lu'lu' whose three hundred horsemen I had deployed flanking Khalīfah and all his men. ⌈They were fighting alongside the Banū Shaybān and the Tamīm.⌉ A great many of the unbelievers were killed, and (the government forces) pursued them. The Banū Shaybān took three hundred horses and a hundred necklaces from them, and Khalīfah's men took a like number.

Al-Nuʿmān and the men with him in the center advanced toward us. Positioned between the center and the right wing, I attacked with those who were with me. Khāqān, Naṣr al-Qushūrī, and Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr and those with him[676] on the right wing also attacked, as did Waṣīf Mūshgīr, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq, the two sons of Kay-

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[673] Text: *li-mawḍiʿihī* "where he stood"; read *bi-man maʿahū*, as in RC.
[674] He may be identical with one of the many Yumns mentioned in the sources for this time, but no certain identity can be established for him.
[675] That is, Abū al-Agharr.
[676] Read, as in RC, *maʿahū*; text: "with them."

ghalagh[677] *and those with them,* al-Mubārak al-Qummī,[678] Rabī'ah b. Muḥammad,[679] Muhājir b. Ṭulayq,[680] al-Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj, 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamdān,[681] Jinnī the Elder, Waṣīf al-Buktamirī,[682] Bishr al-Buktamirī,[683] and Muḥammad b. Qarāṭughān.[684] Flanking the right wing were all those who had attacked the men in the center as well as those who had disengaged themselves from the attackers of al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān. They continued killing the unbelievers, horsemen and foot soldiers alike, until they were slain, over a distance of more than five *mīl* (ten km).[685]

When I went a half *mīl* beyond the battle lines, I feared that the unbelievers might be planning a ruse against the foot soldiers and the train. Therefore I halted until they reached me. I gathered them and the men around me, while in front of me was the blessed spear, the spear of the Commander of the Faithful.[686]

I had // attacked right at the beginning, and so had the [2242]
troops, while all the time 'Īsā al-Nūsharī secured the train, stationing battle lines behind them with the horsemen and the foot soldiers according to a plan I had drawn up for him. He did not leave his position, until all the troops from every location had returned ⌜to me⌝. I set up my tents at the place

677 Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh, who was twice governor of Egypt (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 206ff., 242ff.), was more prominent than his brother Ibrāhīm. He was accorded the honor, rare for a military leader, of a separate biographical notice in Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh Dimashq* (see the *Tahdhīb*, published in Damascus in 1911, I, 440f.), quoted in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, V, 63. It is stated there that Ibrāhīm died in the beginning of Dhū al-Qa'dah, 303 (May 7, 916), but there seems to be no indication of how long Aḥmad survived the final loss of authority in Egypt in 323 (935); however, he is mentioned once more in *Eclipse*, I, 332, *sub anno* 324.

678 He was killed in 294 (906). See text below, 2271 ('Arīb, 15).

679 He may be identical with Abū 'Adnān Rabī'ah b. Muḥammad. See text below, 2281.

680 R rather implausibly makes him an ancestor of the preceding Rabī'ah.

681 Al-Ḥusayn's brother Abū al-Hayjā' 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamdān (see above, n. 87) d. al-Muḥarram, 317 (March, 929). See Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 341-78.

682 He became the successor of al-'Abbās b. 'Amr al-Ghanawī in Diyār Muḍar in 305 (917) but proved inadequate and was replaced by Jinnī al-Ṣafwānī. See 'Arīb, 69; *Eclipse*, I, 56.

683 R: "Yusr."

684 I have no further information about him.

685 See above, n. 93. As stated in the following paragraph, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān became concerned about the danger of his men dispersing over a wide area in order to kill and loot.

686 The caliphal *miṭrad* "spear" served here as a rallying point. *Miṭrad* appears in combination with *'alam* in the sense of flag.

where I had halted, until everybody had encamped, and remained there until after the evening prayer, when all the men were safely quartered. I sent out vanguards, and then I dismounted and praised God profusely for the victory He had allowed us to enjoy. Each and every one of the officers and pages of the Commander of the Faithful as well as the non-Arabs[687] and others, achieved their goal of assisting this blessed dynasty and offering it good counsel. God bless them all!

When the people had gone to rest, I and all the officers went out to stay outside the camp until morning. We did this fearing that some ruse might be used (against us). I am asking God for complete favor and a share of gratefulness.[688] I am now—May God give power to our lord the wazīr—on my way to Ḥamāh. Then, with the kind help of Almighty God, I shall march to Salamyah, since the remaining unbelievers as well as the Unbeliever[689] are in Salamyah, where he arrived three days ago.

I think it is necessary for the wazīr to proceed with writing a letter to all the officers and ⌜all⌝ the Arab subtribes of the Banū Shaybān, the Taghlib, and the Banū Tamīm, commending and rewarding them for what happened in this battle. For none of them, young or old, has left any of the goals unattained.[690]

Praised be God for favors granted! It is He whom I am asking for full grace.

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687 Reference to the ʿ*ajam* "non-Arabs" here, in contrast to the allied Arab tribesmen, is natural in view of the fact that the officers and pages were at best second-generation Turks, Daylam, Persians, and so were the contingents of fighting men they commanded. They were to be treated and rewarded differently from the Arab bedouins. See below, n. 690.

688 "Gratefulness (*shukr*)," as understood in Islam, is a two-way street between God and man.

689 The reference seems to be to the Man of the Mole, who probably was no longer in the area at the time of writing. The victory dispatch was written just before he was captured.

690 In addition to stressing the merit of its author, the victory dispatch had as its primary purpose to recommend promotions and rewards for the officers and men, whether they were regular or irregular troops. This is most clearly stated in this paragraph, but it was also hinted at earlier in the dispatch.

When I proceeded to collect heads, those of Abū al-Ḥiml, Abū al-ʿAdhāb, and Abū al-Baghl were found.[691] // Al-Nuʿmān reportedly was killed. I am, God willing, about to search for his corpse, take his head, and carry it with the other heads into the presence of the Commander of the Faithful. [2243]

On Monday, al-Muḥarram 26, 291 (Monday, December 19, 903), the Man of the Mole was brought into al-Raqqah, appearing before the people on a Bactrian camel, wearing a silken hood and a brocade cloak. Al-Muddaththir and al-Muṭawwaq were in front of him on two camels. Al-Muktafī then left his troops behind with Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and, accompanied by al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh, he went with the men of his inner circle, the pages, and the eunuchs from al-Raqqah to Baghdad. He took along the Qarmaṭian, al-Muddaththir, al-Muṭawwaq, and a number of those captured in battle. This was on Ṣafar 1, 291 (December 24, 903).

When the Caliph arrived at Baghdad, he ⌜reportedly⌝ considered bringing the Qarmaṭian into Madīnat al-Salām hanging from a stake[692] placed upon the back of an elephant. He ordered the demolition of the arcades of the gates through which the elephant was to pass, because they were too low for the stake. This was the case with Bāb al-Ṭāq, Bāb al-Ruṣāfah, and other gates. But then al-Muktafī reportedly found this plan objectionable. Damyānah, the page of Yāzmān, therefore had a chair made for the Qarmaṭian, which was mounted upon the back of the elephant. It reportedly rose two and a half cubits[693] above the elephant's back. On Monday morning, Rabīʿ I 2,[694] 291 (Monday, January 23, 904), al-Muktafī entered Madīnat al-Salām Baghdad. He was preceded by the captives on camels; they were in fetters and wore silken cloaks and hoods. Al-Muṭawwaq, a lad whose beard had not yet grown, was in the middle. He had a rounded[695]

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691 R: "I found those...."
692 *Daql* "palm trunk."
693 That is about 1.25 m. The specific form of this "chair (*kursī*)" cannot be determined with any precision. See Sadan, *Mobilier*, 123ff.
694 R: "Rabīʿ I, 1."
695 *Makhrūṭ*, here translated "rounded" since it seems to refer to the shape rather than mean "smooth."

piece of wood placed in his mouth, which was tied to the back of his head, as if it were a bridle. This was done because, when he
[2244] was brought into al-Raqqah, // he vilified the people when they cursed him, and spit upon them. He was dealt with in this fashion lest he vilify anyone (on this occasion). Al-Muktafī then ordered the construction of a raised platform at the Old Oratory on the East Side. It was twenty square cubits wide and ten cubits high.[696] Steps were built to enable him to ascend it.

When al-Muktafī returned to Madīnat al-Salām, he left his troops behind in al-Raqqah with Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān now rounded up the officers, qāḍīs, and police chiefs of the Qarmaṭian in that region. He took them and put them in fetters. He and the officers left behind with him went down to Madīnat al-Salām on the Euphrates Road. On Thursday night, Rabīʿ I 12,[697] 291 (February 2, 904), he reached Bāb al-Anbār,[698] together with a number of officers, among them Khāqān al-Mufliḥī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq, ⌜and others⌝. The officers who were in Baghdad were ordered to go and meet Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and escort him into the city. He entered with some seventy captives in front of him and went to al-Thurayyā where a robe of honor, a gold necklace, and two gold bracelets were bestowed upon him. All ⌜the officers⌝ who arrived with him received robes of honor, necklaces, and bracelets. They were given leave to return to their residences; the captives were ordered to prison.

While the Man of the Mole was in al-Muktafī's prison, he reportedly took a bowl[699] from the table that was brought in to him. Smashing it, he took a piece and cut one of his veins. He lost

[696] An area ten by ten meters wide is not very large, and the five-meter high platform must have been very crowded. See Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, 269, for a similar platform erected in connection with the punishment of the followers of al-ʿAbbās, the son of Ibn Ṭūlūn. For the Old Oratory, see above, n. 27.
[697] R: "in the middle of Rabīʿ I."
[698] See Lassner, *Topography*, map VI, no. 6.
[699] *Sukurrajah* "bowl" refers to a small dish to hold side dishes (see Kindermann, *Über die guten Sitten*, 61). The one here was most likely made of glass, rather than china or wood.

much blood, but he then tied his hand.[700] When the person in charge of serving him noticed // it, he asked him why he had [2245] done it. He replied, "My blood got all stirred up, and I let it out!"[701] He was left alone, until he was well again and his strength returned.

On Monday, Rabīʿ I 23, 291 (Monday, February 13, 904), al-Muktafī ordered the officers and pages to be present at the raised platform he had ordered built. Great throngs went out to attend. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāthiqī, who was at the time the chief of police in Madīnat al-Salām, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the secretary of the army, came to the raised platform and took their seats on it. Brought on camels to the platform were the captives whom al-Muktafī had brought along from al-Raqqah and those whom Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had brought. There were also Qarmaṭians rounded up[702] at al-Kūfah and imprisoned, Baghdādīs who held Qarmaṭian beliefs, ⌜and⌝ some ⌜riffraff from other places who were not Qarmaṭians⌝. They remained on the camels, with two armed guards in charge of each one of them; they reportedly numbered some three hundred and twenty or three hundred and sixty. The Qarmaṭian al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh, known as the Man of the Mole, together with his cousin, known as al-Muddaththir, was brought upon a mule carrying the two in a covered litter. A number of horsemen and foot soldiers were with them. They were brought up to the raised platform and seated on it. Thirty-four of the captives were now brought forward. Their hands and feet were cut off, and they were decapitated one after the other. Each man was seized and spread out face down. His right hand was cut off and tossed from *the raised platform* and circulated below, so that the people could see it. Then his left foot // was cut off, ⌜then his left hand⌝, then his right foot, and [2246] whatever was cut off was tossed down. Then he was seated, his head was stretched and chopped off, and both head and corpse

700 That is, he applied a tourniquet to his forearm (*yad*) to stop the flow of blood from the cut vein.

701 The Man of the Mole apparently attempted suicide, but when he lost courage to go through with it, he did not want to admit it, because he did not want to appear fainthearted and, in particular, he did not want to admit to an action that was highly objectionable from the religious point of view. He described his action medically as a rather clumsy attempt at bloodletting for a sanguine indisposition.

702 R: *ḥumilū* "carried (from)."

were tossed down. A small number of captives made a clamor pleading and swearing that they were not Qarmaṭians.

When the execution of those thirty-four individuals who reportedly included prominent and important men of the Qarmaṭian was finished, al-Muddaththir was brought forward. His hands and feet were cut off, and he was decapitated. Then the Qarmaṭian was brought forward. He was given two hundred lashes. Then his hands and feet were cut off, and he was cauterized,[703] whereupon he lost consciousness. Firewood was then taken, kindled, and placed upon his sides and belly. He started to open his eyes, but then closed them again. When it was feared that he might die, he was decapitated. His head was raised upon a piece of wood, and those upon the platform and all the people exclaimed, "God is great!"

After the Qarmaṭian was killed, the officers and those present there left to see what would be done with him, while al-Wāthiqī with a number of his men remained until the second evening prayer when the ⌈other⌉ captives who were brought to the raised platform had been decapitated. Then he left. On the following morning, the heads of those killed were carried from the Oratory to the ⌈Bridge. The corpse of the Qarmaṭian was hung at the foot of the⌉ Upper Bridge ⌈in Baghdad⌉. On Wednesday (February 15), the corpses of those killed were thrown into ⌈pits⌉ dug beside the raised platform, which were then filled. After several days, orders
[2247] were given to demolish the raised platform, and this was done. //

On Rabīʿ II 14, 291 (March 5, 904), al-Qāsim b. Sīmā arrived at Baghdad via the Euphrates Road from the region under his jurisdiction. He was accompanied by one of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ, one of the Qarmaṭian's men, who had come to him for a guarantee of safe-conduct. His patronymic was Abū Muḥammad,[704] and he was one of the *dāʿīs* of the Qarmaṭian. The reason why he sought a guarantee of safe-conduct was that the central authorities had corresponded with him and promised to treat him well if

[703] Cauterization was the normal procedure after amputation. Here it served the purpose of prolonging the torture, as it was feared that the Man of the Mole might die too quickly.

[704] As indicated in R and ʿArīb, 5, as well as Ibn al-Athīr, he was Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān. See above, n. 660. He was killed in this year.

he, in particular, were to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct. They did that because he was the only Qarmaṭian chieftain left in the Syrian region. He was a *mawlā* of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ *and was called Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān.* At the time of the battle, *he had taken refuge with a number of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ* in some obscure region and thus escaped. He then wished to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct and declare his loyalty, because he was afraid for his life. He and those with him, some sixty men, arrived at Madīnat al-Salām and were granted guarantees of safe-conduct. They were well treated and presents of money were brought to them. He and those with him were sent out to Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq together with al-Qāsim b. Sīmā, and stipends[705] were granted to them. After al-Qāsim b. Sīmā arrived with them in the region under his jurisdiction, they stayed with him for a while. Then they conspired to betray him. Becoming aware of their plan, he lost no time doing away with them by putting them to the sword; some of them, however, he made captives. The remainder of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ and their *mawlās* were deterred and humbled. After they had stayed for a while in the environs of al-Samāwah, the evil Zikrawayh corresponded with them. He informed them that it had been revealed to him[706] that the man known as al-Shaykh and his brother would be killed, and that his imām, who would be revealed to him, would appear after their death and be victorious. // [2248]

On Thursday, Jumādā I 9, 291 (Thursday, March 29, 904), al-Muktafī married his son Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad to the daughter of ⌜Abū al-Ḥusayn⌝ al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh. The dowry was one hundred thousand dīnārs.[707]

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705 More precisely, it seems, allotments of food as monthly rations, rather than money.

706 That is, he had known in advance that his two sons would die and by the same token he was sure of the future leader who would lead them to victory.

707 For Muḥammad b. al-Muktafī, see above, n. 604. ʿArīb, 76, speaks of the sumptuous wedding banquet in honor of the marriage of a daughter of (the by then deceased) al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh to Muḥammad b. al-Muktafī in the year 306 (918-9).

At the end of Jumādā ⌜I ⌝, 291 (April 19, 904), a letter from the region of Jubbā[708] ⌜reportedly⌝ reached Baghdad. It mentioned that a flash flood in a (dry) river reached Jubbā from the mountain and inundated about thirty *farsakhs* (180 km).[709] A large number of people as well as cattle drowned, and the crops were inundated. Residences[710] and villages were ruined. The bodies of twelve hundred drowned persons were recovered besides those who were not found.

On Sunday, Rajab 1, 291 (Saturday, May 19, 904), al-Muktafī bestowed robes of honor upon Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the secretary of the army, and a number of distinguished officers, among them Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq, Khalīfah b. al-Mubārak, who was known as Abū al-Agharr, the two sons of Kayghalagh, Bunduqah b. Kumushjūr, and others. He ordered the officers to obey Muḥammad b. Sulaymān loyally. Still wearing the robes of honor, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān left and encamped in his tent at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah. A number of officers who had been mobilized encamped with him. They were to depart for Damascus and Egypt in order to seize the provinces from Hārūn b. Khumārawayh, for the central authorities had come to realize that Hārūn and those with him were weak, having suffered the loss of men killed by the Qarmaṭian. On Rajab 6, 291 (May 24,
[2249] 904), // Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and the men attached to him—about ten thousand—left Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah. He ordered them to make every possible effort to advance quickly.

On Rajab 27, 291 (June 14, 904), a dispatch arrived from Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad who was in Khurāsān, and it was read in the two Friday Mosques of Madīnat al-Salām. In it, Ismā'īl mentioned that the Turks had marched against the Muslims with a large army and many people. There were seven hundred Turkish tents in the camp, and they were those reserved exclusively for their chief-

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[708] For Jubbā in Khūzistān/al-Ahwāz, the home of the great theologian Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, see, for instance, Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 17; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, trans. Minorsky, 130; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, III, 186, who speaks of Jubbā as a village in al-Baṣrah; *EI*², s. v. al-Djubbā'ī.

[709] Whether this is meant as an area of one hundred and eighty square km or merely as the length of the area affected, it seems too large a figure.

[710] R: *al-nawāḥī* "regions."

tains! Ismāʿīl had given one of his officers command of an army and sent him off against them.[711] It had been publicly announced that people should volunteer to join, and many did. The commander of the army had marched with the *Muslims* who were with him against the Turks. The Muslims had come upon them when they did not expect it, and had attacked them in the morning. A large number of them had been killed, and the rest had fled. Permission had been given to loot their camp, and the Muslims had returned to their place safe and with booty.

In Shaʿbān, 291 (June 18-July 16, 904), word arrived in Baghdad that the Byzantine ruler had sent ten crosses[712] with one hundred thousand men against the border towns and that a number of them had moved on al-Ḥadath. They had raided and burned, and they had captured every Muslim they had been able to.

In Ramaḍān, 291 (July 17-August 15, 904), a dispatch from al-Qāsim b. Sīmā reached ⌜the central authorities⌝ from al-Raḥbah. In it, he mentioned that the Arab tribesmen of the Banū ʿUllayṣ and their *mawlās*, who had been with the Qarmaṭian and had then sought and obtained guarantees of safe-conduct from the central authorities and from himself, had broken (their word) and betrayed their trust. They had planned to attack al-Raḥbah on the day of fast-breaking [Shawwāl 1 (August 16)], while people were engaged in the holiday prayer, and to kill whomever they could reach as well as to burn and to loot. "I used a ruse against them and eventually killed and captured one hundred and fifty // of them, not counting those who drowned in the Euphrates. I [2250]
am bringing the captives, including a number of their leaders, and the heads of the slain."

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711 Text: "him"; R: *ilayhim*.

712 Ibn al-Athīr interprets this to mean that each army unit of ten thousand men had one cross. Vasiliev, II, 163, apparently following Ibn al-Athīr, speaks of ten legions. On another occasion, ʿArīb, 34, ll. 12f., mentions Byzantine banners decorated with crosses of gold and silver.

At the end of Ramaḍān, 291 (August 15, 904), a dispatch ⌈from al-Raqqah⌉ arrived at Baghdad from Abū Maʿadd[713] concerning news reaching him from Ṭarsūs. The dispatch indicated that God had given victory to a man known as Ghulām Zurāfah[714] in a raid then undertaken by him against the Byzantines at a city called Anṭāliyah[715] located on the seashore—they asserted that it equaled Constantinople. Ghulām Zurāfah had conquered it forcibly by the sword. He reportedly killed five thousand men and captured a similar number, while rescuing four thousand (Muslim) captives. He seized[716] sixty Byzantine ships and loaded them with the booty he had made: silver, gold, goods, and slaves. He estimated the share of every participant in that raid, and it came to a thousand dīnārs. The Muslims rejoiced at that. "I have speedily forwarded this dispatch of mine, so that the wazīr will know about the event. Written on Thursday, Ramaḍān 10, 291 (Thursday, July 26, 904)." *The dispatch arrived at Baghdad and was read in the two Friday Mosques.*

*In this year, al-Qāsim b. Sīmā reached Baghdad with the captives and the heads of the (slain) Banū ʿUllayṣ. The captives numbered some forty, and the heads some sixty. The heads included that of Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān al-ʿUllayṣī.*

*On Wednesday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 6, 291 (Wednesday, September 19, 904), al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh died. On the day after his

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713 Text: "Maʿdān"; read Maʿadd as in R and ʿArīb, 6. The editor of ʿArīb assumes that the individual was identical with Nizār b. Muḥammad. See above, n. 490.

714 Zurāfah was presumably the court official who briefly played a significant role during the caliphate of al-Muntaṣir. The page (*ghulām*) of Zurāfah is mentioned by Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 318f., ed. Pellat, II, 45. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 38. With reference to Kindī, *Wulāh*, 245, Canard, *Sources arabes*, 45, n. 3, states that the name of Ghulām Zurāfah was Rashīq al-Wardamī, but he also quotes, on p. 404, from Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 180, that Leon, Ghulām Zurāfah, attacked Thessalonica in 290 (903). The data are hard to reconcile, and further clarification is needed. See also Canard, in Vasiliev, II, 163, n. 2.

715 Modern Antalya. It is not surprising that the reading Anṭākiyah appears frequently, as in R (and possibly C) and ʿArīb. See also Canard, *Sources arabes*, 18, 56, 167, 259, 270. The indicated location rules out Antioch (Anṭākiyah), but the comparison with Constantinople appears more applicable to Antioch than Antalya, even though the latter was an impressive site.

716 R (see also C): *wajada* "found."

death, al-Muktafī appointed al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan[717] as wazīr. Al-ʿAbbās reportedly attended several meetings on that day. He became extremely nervous after mounting (his horse to return home), and on the way to his residence from the Caliph's palace he asked four times for a drink of water.*

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbdallāh *b. ʿUbaydallāh* b. al-ʿAbbās ⌈b. Muḥammad⌉. // [2251]

[717] For al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 359ff. For his death in connection with the Ibn al-Muʿtazz affair, see text below, 2282.

# The ⌜Important⌝ Events of the Year 292

## (NOVEMBER 13, 904 - NOVEMBER 1, 905)

Among the events was the dispatch, by Nizār b. Muḥammad, of a man from al-Baṣrah to the central authorities in Baghdad. The man had reportedly intended to rebel against the central authorities and had gone to Wāsiṭ. Nizār sent someone in search of him, and he arrested the man in Wāsiṭ and had him brought to al-Baṣrah. Nizār also seized people there who had reportedly declared allegiance to the man. He now sent all of them by boat to Baghdad, and they stopped at the Port of the Baṣrans.[718] ⌜Nizār sent a number of officers to the Port of the Baṣrans.⌝ The man was mounted upon the Bactrian camel,[719] while a child, a son of his, was in front of him on a camel. Accompanying him were thirty-nine[720] men on camels, all of them wearing silken hoods ⌜and cloaks⌝. Most of them pleaded for help; they cried and swore that they were innocent and knew nothing of the charges brought against them. They were led to al-Muktafī's palace by way of al-Tammārīn, ⌜Bāb⌝ al-Karkh, and al-Khuld.[721] Al-Muktafī ordered them remanded to the prison known as the New Prison and had them incarcerated there.

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[718] This appears to have been the place where boats from al-Baṣrah usually stopped near Baghdad.

[719] The use of the definite article here seems to indicate that a particular Bactrian camel was usually employed for parading suspected heretics and rebels.

[720] R and ʿArīb, 7: "thirty-seven." This also seems to be the reading of B.

[721] Al-Tammārīn apparently was the street on which the date merchants were concentrated. For Bāb al-Karkh, see Lassner, *Topography*, 247, and, for the great palace al-Khuld built by al-Manṣūr on the Tigris, op. cit., 55, 243, map V, no. 5.

In al-Muḥarram, 292, (November 13-December 12, 904), the Byzantine Andronikos[722] raided Marʿash and its environs. The inhabitants of al-Maṣṣīṣah and Ṭarsūs marched out to combat. Abū al-Rijāl b. Abī Bakkār [723] and a number of Muslims were mortally wounded.

In al-Muḥarram, 292, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān reached the borders of Egypt to fight Hārūn b. Khumārawayh *b. Aḥmad.* Al-Muktafī dispatched Damyānah, the page of Yāzmān, from Baghdad // with orders to go to Egypt by sea, enter the Nile, and [2252] cut off supplies from the troops in Egypt. He went and entered the Nile as far as al-Jisr,[724] where he stayed, making things difficult for the Egyptians.

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān advanced against them with mounted troops. When he was close to al-Fusṭāṭ, he corresponded with the officers there. The first to come out to him was Badr al-Ḥammāmī, who was the supreme chief. That broke their resistance, and a procession of Egyptian officers and others followed to seek guarantees of safe-conduct. When Hārūn and those remaining with him saw that, they advanced against Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, and battles reportedly took place between them. Somewhat later, dissension[725] broke out among Hārūn's men, and they fought one another. When Hārūn went out to quiet them, one of the Maghribīs hurled a javelin[726] at him and killed him. Informed about his death, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and those with him entered al-Fusṭāṭ, took possession of the houses of the Ṭūlūnid family and their associates, and seized all of them; they numbered about ten men. He put them in fetters, incarcerated them, and confiscated their property. He then wrote a victory dispatch (to Baghdad).

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722 He is identical with the Patrikios Andronikos who two years later sought a guarantee of safe-conduct and went to Baghdad. See below, 2276. For the passage, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 19, and, for an analysis of the events involving Andronikos, see Canard, in Vasiliev, II, 181ff.; Rydén (above, n. 164).

723 I have no further information about him.

724 The precise location of "The Bridge (*al-Jisr*)" cannot, it seems, be determined.

725 Group or tribal sentiment (*ʿaṣabiyyah*) was understandably strong in the Egyptian forces which were composed of various ethnic groups, and gave rise to many quarrels and "dissension."

726 For *zānah* "javelin," the better known, Arabic word *sahm* "arrow" is used by ʿArīb, 7; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 111 (quoting Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī). Lane, 1273a, refers to *zānah* as a specifically Daylamite weapon.

The battle took place in Ṣafar, 292 (December 13, 904-January 11, 905). Word was sent to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ordering him to move all the Ṭūlūnids and the officers associated with them[727] out of Egypt and Syria. Not a single one of them was to be left behind, and they were all to be sent to Baghdad. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān complied (with the order).

On Rabīʿ I 3, 292 (January 13, 905), the wall at the head of the First Bridge on the East Side—it was the wall of a house that had belonged to ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir—fell upon (the
[2253] corpse of) the Qarmaṭian al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh // which hung nearby and crushed[728] it. No trace of it was found afterwards.

In Ramaḍān, 292 (July 7-August 5, 905), a report reached the central authorities in Baghdad indicating that one of the Egyptian officers, an officer named Ibrāhīm and known as al-Khalījī,[729] had left Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and stayed behind at the most distant borders of Egypt with a number of troops and others whom he had won over. Marching on Egypt[730] in opposition to the central authorities, he had been joined by a number of people ⌜bent upon sedition⌝, so that his ranks had swelled. When he reached Egypt (al-Fusṭāṭ), ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī, who was then in charge of security there, had intended to engage him in combat, but he had been unable to do so in view of the large force with al-Khalījī.

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727 Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 322, speaks of twenty descendants of Ibn Ṭūlūn but gives no numbers for the officers.

728 R: *fa-baṭaḥahū* "flattened."

729 Ṭabarī also refers to him as Ibn Khalīj; R, like Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 236, ed. Pellat, V, 187, uses Ibn al-Khalījī. It appears to be unclear whether Khalījī, or rather Khalanjī, is the correct form. Egyptian historiography refers to him as Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 147, 153-55. This is probably more correct than Ṭabarī's Ibrāhīm, which may have been influenced by the Ibrāhīm al-Khalījī mentioned earlier, see text above, III, 2027. Al-Khalījī started a local Egyptian resistance movement against the caliphate as represented by its governor ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī, after the de facto independence of Egypt established by the Ṭūlūnids had come to an end. According to Egyptian historiography, he enjoyed considerable popular support. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 259-63, 267; Ibn Taghrībirdī, loc. cit. At the end, Ibn Taghrībirdī felt compelled to reflect upon the irony—not uncommon in national liberation movements—that the rebellion which was intended to improve the political position of Egypt led to even greater destruction than was caused by the ʿAbbāsid reconquest under Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. Al-Khalījī disappears from view after he was captured and brought to Baghdad, see text below, 2267f.

730 That is, al-Fusṭāṭ.

As a result, he had drawn away from al-Khalījī, and after evacuating al-Fusṭāṭ, he had retreated to Alexandria. Al-Khalījī had then entered al-Fusṭāṭ.

Now, in this year, al-Muktafī mobilized Fātik, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, to fight al-Khalījī and establish order in the West.[731] The Caliph attached Badr al-Ḥammāmī to Fātik, making him Fātik's adviser in this undertaking. He also attached to him a number of officers and many troops. On Shawwāl 7, 292 (August 12, 905), robes of honor were bestowed upon Fātik and Badr al-Ḥammāmī when they departed for Egypt on their mission. // [2254]
Ordered to leave quickly, they marched off on Shawwāl 12, 292 (August 17, 905).

On Shawwāl 15, 292 (August 20, 905), Rustum b. Bardū[732] entered Ṭarsūs as governor of the city and the Syrian border towns.

In this year, the Muslims and Byzantines undertook ransom negotiations. The first day of the negotiations was Dhū al-Qaʿdah 2, 292 (September 27, 905). The total number of Muslims ransomed was reportedly about twelve hundred. Following this the Byzantines reneged (on the arrangements agreed upon) and departed, and the Muslims went back with their remaining Byzantine captives. The ransom negotiations and armistice had (originally) been arranged by Abū al-ʿAshā'ir and the qāḍī Ibn Mukram.[733] When that raid of Andronikos against the inhabitants of Marʿash took place and he killed Abū al-Rijāl and others, Abū al-ʿAshā'ir was removed, and Rustum was appointed (governor). The ransom negotiations were therefore in his hands. The person in charge of

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731 Talbi, *Émirat*, 653, has attempted to relate this reference to the "West (*al-Maghrib*)" to the contemporary unrest in Ifrīqiyah, but as seen from Baghdad, Egypt is probably meant here.

732 Rustum is called al-Farghānī in Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 192. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 406, also 19. His father's name was omitted by ʿArīb, 8. The reason for Rustum's appointment is given in the following paragraph. He is mentioned last in 299 (911). See text below, 2286.

733 Possibly, ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Mukram, who is mentioned as a qāḍī for the years 311-13. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 481, 483 (also 531-36, from Ibn Ḥajar, *Rafʿ al-iṣr*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 213, l. 18. He appears knowledgeable about Byzantine-Christian matters in a story reported in Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 52 (there we find the correct text, as against the edition of Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, 30).

the ransom negotiations for the Byzantines was a man called Asṭānah.[734]

*In this year, Mubārak al-Qummī was sent to the camp of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān on two hundred swift camels. Written orders to arrest Muḥammad were sent with him to the officers who were with Muḥammad, and he was arrested.*

*In this year, the floodwaters in Baghdad were exceedingly high,[735] making Baghdādīs afraid of drowning. The houses on both banks of the Tigris were generally destroyed, and the waters reportedly gushed forth in the shops of the sack merchants[736] in Baghdad.

The Tigris then rose a second time to an even greater height. The reason for this was that al-Muktafī had constructed a building at the place[737] known as al-Ḥasanī, and had reportedly extended its foundation sixty cubits (thirty m) into the Tigris. When the high waters reached the building at the time of the flooding, they did not find an outlet and turned back, thus rising high in Baghdad and its environs. Many people thought that (the flooding) resulted from the rising groundwater.

A stupid and foolish Baghdādī invented a dream. He mentioned[738] that he had seen the Prophet in his sleep. He said that God wanted to bring misfortune upon them. "I asked God about their affair when they had already been taken seven days (...., and I was told, '....),[739] so order them to go out into the countryside and call out to God, and He will lift the misfortune from them.' "

The populace talked about al-Baṣrah having been inundated by this flood. Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: I wrote to al-Baṣrah about this flood that affected Baghdad and its environs, from

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734 Perhaps, Usṭāthah, that is, Eustathios (Usṭāth)?

735 The flood is mentioned briefly in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 50; Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn Taghrībirdī, III, 157, who says that it occurred in Jumādā I (March 11-April, 9, 905) and that the waters rose twenty-one cubits.

736 *Dakākīn aṣḥāb al-jawālīq*.

737 Probably, the Ḥasanī palace is meant, but "place (*mawḍiʿ*)" is used here.

738 The vocalization as a passive is indicated in the manuscript but seems unlikely.

739 The text is corrupt. This is particularly regrettable since some interesting animadversion on the role of God in human misfortune appears to have been made here by Ṭabarī.

above[740] the border of ʿUkbarā and further up and down from the lowest part of Baghdad, and we found no trace of it (in the region of al-Baṣrah).*

*In this year, a letter from Bassām al-Kurdī[741] reached Baghdad. He was stationed in a fortress of his between Byzantine and Muslim territory and engaged in keeping the truce between the Muslims and Byzantines. He mentioned that the Byzantine king had written to him, ordering him to rebuild the bridges over the Jayḥān and improve the road for him, for he planned to march on Ṭarsūs. The agent in Ṭarsūs sent (the message) on to the central authorities.*

*In this year, the emissary of the Byzantine king came to Ṭarsūs in connection with ransom negotiations.*

*In this year, Ṭughj b. Juff and his brother Wāzar,[742] both officers of Ibn Ṭūlūn, came to Baghdad with all the Ṭūlūnid officers.*

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌜b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.⌝

740 The probable geographical reference is, it seems, not based on the course of the river as "up"stream and downstream, but upon the meaning of above as south and below as north. It thus signifies flooding south of ʿUkbarā to northern Baghdad and south into Baghdad.

741 I have no further information about him.

742 On Ṭughj and his brother Badr, see above, nn. 77 and 155. No interpretation of the clearly written *w'zr* here other than as the name of another brother of Ṭughj is possible. Wāzar seems otherwise unattested as a Persian name. It can, however, easily be explained as meaning "worker" or the like. In spite of the evidence of R, the correct form might be Warāz, which is widely attested. See Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, 255.

The arrival of Ṭughj in Baghdad with his (unnamed) son and brother is dated on Monday, Shaʿbān 16, 292 (Sunday, June 23, 905), in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, I, 91. See also Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Tallqvist, text, 7, trans., 22; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 146.

# The
# Events of the Year
# 293
## (NOVEMBER 2, 905 - OCTOBER 21, 906)

Among the events was a report that arrived at Baghdad on Ṣafar 24, 293 (December 25, 905). It indicated that al-Khalījī, who had seized power in Egypt, had attacked Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh and a number of officers near al-ʿArīsh and routed them ignomin-
[2255] iously.[743] A number of officers // stationed in Madīnat al-Salām, among them Ibrāhīm b. Kayghalagh, were mobilized to go (to Egypt), and they did so.

On Rabīʿ I[744] 7, 293 (January 6, 906), one of the officers of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ⌜b. ʿAmr⌝ b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār, who was known as Abū Qābūs,[745] left the camp of the Sijistānīs[746] and arrived at Madīnat al-Salām seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct. This was because Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, who was reportedly preoccupied with amusement and hunting, had gone to Sijistān for hunting and recreation. Power in Fārs was then seized by al-Layth b. ʿAlī ⌜b. al-Layth⌝[747] and Subkarā,[748] the *mawlā* of ʿAmr ⌜b. al-Layth⌝, with al-Layth governing in the jurisdiction which was nominally Ṭāhir's. They became estranged from Abū Qābūs, and as a result, Abū Qābūs left them and went to the Caliph's court in Baghdad. ⌜The Caliph received him⌝, bestowed robes of honor upon him and upon a number of the men with him, presented him with gifts, and honored him. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ⌜b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth⌝

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743 The battle took place on al-Muḥarram 3, 293 (November 4, 905). See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 153.

744 R: "Rabīʿ II."

745 Abū Qābūs al-Khurāsānī is further mentioned in ʿArīb, 53, *sub anno* 302 (914-5). All the Ṭabarī manuscripts have al-Qābūs.

746 That is, Ṭāhir's forces in Sijistān made up primarily of local troops.

747 Al-Layth was a cousin of Ṭāhir's father. He died in al-Raqqah in 316 (928). See ʿArīb, 139.

748 The vocalization of this name is not certain. Subkarā died in 305 (917-8) in Baghdad.

then wrote to the central authorities asking them to return Abū Qābūs to him. He mentioned that he had entrusted him with some administrative duties in Fārs and that Abū Qābūs had collected taxes and had taken the proceeds along with him. Should Abū Qābūs not be returned to him, Ṭāhir asked that an accounting be made of the money from Fārs which Abū Qābūs had taken along with him and which he had been forced to give up.[749] The central authorities did not grant Ṭāhir any of these requests.

In this month [Rabīʿ I, 293 (December 31, 905-January 29, 906)], word arrived in Baghdad that a brother of ⌈al-Ḥusayn b.⌉ Zikrawayh, known as the Man of the Mole, had appeared in al-Dāliyah with some men having come from the Euphrates Road, and some Arab tribesmen and brigands had joined him. He marched // on Damascus with them taking the desert road. He [2256] caused trouble in the region and fought its inhabitants. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān ⌈b. Ḥamdūn⌉ was mobilized to go out against him, and he left with a large number of troops. The Qarmaṭian's move on Damascus took place in Jumādā I, 293 (February 28-March 29, 906). Following this, word arrived at Baghdad that he had moved on Ṭabariyyah[750] Its inhabitants refused to let him enter the city, so he fought them and eventually entered the city. He killed most of the men and women there and looted the city, following which he went back to the desert region.

In Rabīʿ II, 293 (January 30-February 27, 906), word arrived at Baghdad that the *dāʿī* in the Yemen had moved on the city of Ṣanʿāʾ. Its inhabitants fought him, but he overcame and killed them; only a few of them escaped. He then seized power in all the other cities of the Yemen.[751]

[749] Ṭāhir suggests that the money he accuses Abū Qābūs of having embezzled was taken away from Abū Qābūs in Baghdad in exchange for the friendly reception accorded him.
[750] That is, Tiberias.
[751] See above, n. 487, and, with reference to this passage, van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, 182, n. 2.

## *Resumption of the Report on the Affairs of Ibn Zikrawayh's Brother*

The source for the following report is Muḥammad b. Dawūd b. al-Jarrāḥ: After the death of the Man of the Mole, the son of Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, a man named Abū Ghānim ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd,[752] who was a schoolteacher in a village called al-Zābūqah[753] in the administrative district of al-Fallūjah, was dispatched by Zikrawayh to circulate among the Kalb tribes and propagandize for his religious views among them. In order to disguise ⌜his activities⌝, he called himself Naṣr. Nobody accepted his propaganda except a man from the Banū Ziyād who was called Miqdām
[2257] b. al-Kayyāl.[754] He inveigled on his behalf sections of // the Aṣbaghites who claimed Fāṭimid descent, as well as low-class ʿUllayṣ and vagabonds from all the other Kalb subtribes, and moved on the Syrian region.

The official of the central authorities in charge of Damascus and al-Urdunn (Province) was Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh. At the time, he was stationed in Egypt to fight Ibn Khalīj,[755] who had opposed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and returned to Egypt (al-Fusṭāṭ) seizing power there. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd seized the opportunity (of Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh's absence) to move on the cities of Buṣrā and Adhriʿāt, counties of the Ḥawrān, and al-Bathaniyyah. He fought their inhabitants and then offered them guarantees of safe-conduct. When they submitted, he killed their fighting men, took their women and children captive, and confiscated their property. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd then traveled toward Damascus, where Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh had left behind a garrison of Egyptians with Ṣāliḥ b. al-Faḍl.[756] A number of them went out against ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd, but (the Qarmaṭians) overcame them, causing a bloodbath. Following this, they deceived them by extending

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752 For the events concerning this man, see Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 51.

753 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 905, distinguishes this Zābūqah from the one at the outskirts of al-Baṣrah. The latter is connected with the Battle of the Camel fought in 36 (656). See text above, I, 3122ff. For al-Fallūjah, see *EI*², s. v. al-Fallūdja.

754 There does not seem to exist any further information about him. See Halm, loc. cit.

755 R: "al-Khalījī."

756 I have found no further information about him other than that which is presented in Ṭabarī and ʿArīb.

guarantees of safe-conduct to them. They killed Ṣāliḥ and scattered his army. However, they had no hope of taking Damascus; for they had reached it earlier only to be repelled by its inhabitants. Therefore they moved on Ṭabariyyah, the capital of al-Urdunn. They were joined by a number of defectors from among the troops of Damascus.[757] Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Bughāmardī,[758] Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh's official in charge of al-Urdunn, attacked them, but they broke his resistance and offered him a guarantee of safe-conduct. They subsequently betrayed him, and, after killing him, they looted the capital of al-Urdunn, took the women captive, and killed a number of its inhabitants.

The central authorities despatched al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān and several distinguished officers to pursue them. // Al-Ḥusayn [2258] reached Damascus, after the enemies of God had entered Ṭabariyyah. When they learned about al-Ḥusayn, they turned toward al-Samāwah. Al-Ḥusayn went off to pursue them in the desert of al-Samāwah, while they moved from watering place to watering place and made them all unusable. Eventually they took refuge at two watering places known as al-Dimʿānah and al-Ḥālah.[759] Since he had no water, al-Ḥusayn gave up the pursuit and returned[760] to al-Raḥbah.

The Qarmaṭians with that seducer of theirs called Naṣr marched by night on the village of Hīt. In the morning of Shaʿbān 20,[761] 293 (June 16, 906), at sunrise, they arrived there unexpected. Naṣr looted the city's suburbs, killed all the inhabitants he could, burned down the residences, and looted the ships in the Euphrates port[762] of the city. He reportedly killed about two hundred of the local inhabitants, men, women, and children, and seized all the property ⌜and goods⌝ that he could. He reportedly loaded three thousand pack animals that were with him with about two

[757] R: "a number of people who had escaped from Damascus."
[758] See above, n. 181.
[759] Al-Dimʿānah is described by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 598, as a watering place belonging to the Baḥr of the Zuhayr b. Janāb of the Kalb (see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, table 285, I, 221a, 610a). For al-Ḥālah, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 361, s. v. Khālah. RC: "al-Dimghānah."
[760] Since he came from Damascus, it would be more accurate to say that he continued to the Euphrates.
[761] R and ʿArīb (11, l. 10), as apparently also B: "seven" (nights remaining, or Shaʿbān 22).
[762] R has the expected *furḍatihā*. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCC.

hundred *kurr bi-al-muʿaddal*[763] of wheat and all the flour,[764] perfume, and stuff[765] that he needed. He stayed the rest of the day on which he had entered the city, as well as the following day, and then left for the desert ⌜after the evening prayer⌝. He obtained all that (booty) from the suburbs alone, for the inhabitants of the city itself were protected from him by the city wall. On account of this Qarmaṭian, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq marched to Hīt with a number of officers and a substantial army. After
[2259] several days he was followed by Mu'nis al-Khādim.[766] / /

The source for the following report is Muḥammad b. Dāwūd: The Qarmaṭians came to Hīt unexpectedly in the morning, but God safeguarded the city's inhabitants by means of the city wall. The central authorities then rushed Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq against the Qarmaṭians. When the Qarmaṭians had stayed there only three nights, ⌜Muḥammad b. Isḥāq drew close⌝. They fled ⌜from him⌝ to the two watering places. When he wanted to pursue them, he found that they had made the watering places between him and themselves unusable. Camels, water skins, and provisions were dispatched to him from the center.[767] Al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān was given written orders to proceed against them from the direction of al-Raḥbah, so that he and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq could attack them jointly.

When the Kalbites noticed that the army was on their trail, they decided to assault and murder the enemy of God called Naṣr. One[768] of them, a man called al-Dhi'b b. al-Qā'im,[769] was responsible for the killing. He then went to (the Caliph's) court and

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763 On determinations of the weight of *kurr muʿaddal*, see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCLIII; Lane, 2601b. For *kurr*, see also *Wörterbuch*, letter *K*, 106a. The *kurr* is commonly described as containing sixty donkey loads. If donkeys or mules are meant here, the *kurr muʿaddal* would amount to about fifteen such loads.

764 *Burr* may be "flour" in contrast to *ḥinṭah* "wheat (grain)." "Linen cloth *(bazz)*" cannot be excluded, however, if "perfume" is correct.

765 *Saqaṭ* occurs next to "rice" in the text above, III, 1550. It is explained as a kind of merchandise. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCXCIII. It may have a meaning similar to that of *ḥuṭām* (see below, n. 771). The proximity to "perfume" recalls *safaṭ* "container for cosmetics." See Lane, 1372b; Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 22, n. 3; Busse, "Hofbudget," 24. However, this word is not likely to be meant here.

766 Text: "al-Khāzin"; read al-Khādim as in RC.

767 Probably, *al-ḥaḍrah* refers here to Baghdad.

768 ʿArīb, 11, ll. 19f., summarizes the rest of the paragraph: "They used his head to approach Muḥammad b. Kundāj."

769 In Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 374, he is called Abū al-Dhi'b (?).

used what he had done as a means of approaching (the Caliph) and seeking guarantees of safe-conduct for the rest of the Kalb. He was rewarded and credited for what he had undertaken, and his people were no longer pursued. He remained several days, and then fled. The vanguards of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq came upon the head[770] of the man called Naṣr. They cut it off and brought it to Madīnat al-Salām.

The Qarmaṭians thereafter fought among themselves. This eventually led to bloodshed. Miqdām b. al-Kayyāl escaped to the territory of the Ṭayyi' with the things[771] he had seized. A group of them who disliked what the Qarmaṭians were doing went to the Banū Asad, who were staying in the region of ʿAyn al-Tamr, and asked them for protection. They sent a delegation to the central authorities to apologize / / for what they had done and to [2260]
ask that (official) approval be given to them so that they could remain under the protection of the Banū Asad. Their request was granted.

The remaining wicked adherents of the religion of the Qarmaṭian reached the two watering places. The central authorities now sent written orders to Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān to resume the attempt to uproot them. Zikrawayh dispatched one of his *dāʿīs* to them, a farmer from the Sawād named al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, who was known as Abū Muḥammad[772] and came from the rural district of Nahr Malḥātā.[773] He was sent to inform them that the action of al-Dhi'b b. al-Qā'im had estranged them from Zikrawayh[774] and that they had become renegades from the (true) religion. The time had arrived, however, for them to come out. Forty thousand men had declared their allegiance to him in al-Kūfah, and four hundred thousand in the Kūfan countryside. Their appointed day was the one mentioned by God in His Book

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770 In the context, the corpse, with the head still attached, must be meant.

771 Like *saqaṭ* (above, n. 765), *ḥuṭām* generally means something like worthless cast-offs, but the meaning of "hay," expressly indicated in Dozy, may apply here.

772 There is no further information about him beyond what is found in Ṭabarī.

773 Text: "Talḥānah"; read "Malḥātā," as found in R and supported by the reading in C. Aramaic *malḥāthā* "salt regions/mines" would be an appropriate name. Tallḥānah seems less likely.

774 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 47, l. 3, adds, no doubt from a recension of Ṭabarī: "and made his heart heavy against them." Miskawayh's text is incorporated in the text of the Leiden edition.

in connection with Moses, the man spoken to by God,[775] and Moses's enemy Pharaoh, where He says: "Your appointed day is a day of splendor, and it should be that the people will assemble in the early morning."[776] Zikrawayh ordered them to conceal their business and to make it appear that they were setting out for Syria, while, in fact, they were to march on al-Kūfah, where they were to arrive on the morning of the Day of Slaughtering, Thursday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10, 293 (Thursday, October 2, 906). They would not be prevented from entering al-Kūfah. He would then appear and fulfill his promise to them which his messengers used to convey to them. They should bring al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad with them.

They obeyed his command[777] and reached the gate of al-Kūfah, just as the people returned from their place of prayer with Isḥāq b. ʿImrān,[778] the official representing the central authorities
[2261] there. The number of those // who reached the gate of al-Kūfah on that day reportedly consisted of approximately eight hundred[779] horsemen headed by al-Dandānī Zikrawayh[780] b. Mihrawayh, who was from al-Ṣaw'ar[781] or, according to another report, from Junbulā'. The horsemen had coats of mail and breastplates and a

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775 The well-known epithet of Moses, based on Qur. 4:164 and occurring but once in the standard collections of ḥadīth. See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XVII, 252; *Wörterbuch*, letter *K*, 336a.

776 Qur. 20:59.

777 R: *ra'yahū* "his opinion."

778 Isḥāq b. ʿImrān was removed from his official position in al-Kūfah and its environs at the end of Ramaḍān, 303 (April 7, 916), and he died on Wednesday, Ṣafar 9 (*not* 7), 306 (Wednesday, July 22, 918). See ʿArīb, 58, 76. He was attacked in a satirical poem by Ibn Bassām al-Bassāmī (Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 259f., ed. Pellat, V, 197f.).

779 R: "two hundred."

780 Text: "al-Dhablānī"; read "al-Dandānī" as in RC. The same *nisbah* occurs in connection with Zikrawayh in Baghdādī, *Farq*, 267, whose information may, however, go in some manner back to Ṭabarī. See also Halkin's translation, *Moslem Schisms*, 112. For further possible occurrences of Dandān in Qarmaṭian history, see L. Massignon, "Esquisse," 331; Halm, *Kosmologie*, 5, n. 22, 95; al-Baghdādī, *Farq*, 266, trans. Halkin, 108f. The *nisbah* al-Dandānī is listed in Samʿānī, *Ansāb* V, 383, but Samʿānī does not indicate what it refers to. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 611, refers to a village Dandanah in the region of Wāsiṭ, but the short vowel in the second syllable makes any relationship to Dandānī dubious.

781 According to the text below, al-Ṣaw'ar was located eight km from al-Qādisiyyah. It was celebrated as the location of a slaughtering contest (*muʿāqarah*), in which the father of the poet al-Farazdaq participated. See *Naqā'id*, for instance, 624, 771, 953, 999, 1080 (Leiden 1905-12). The *Naqā'id* were the source of Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 430f.

fine outfit.[782] They were accompanied by a number of foot soldiers on pack animals. They attacked the ordinary prople they came upon, despoiling a number of them and killing about twenty. The people lost no time in going to al-Kūfah. They entered the city and sounded the alarm, whereupon Isḥāq b. ʿImrān rose with his men. About a hundred Qarmaṭian horsemen entered the city of al-Kūfah from the gate known as Bāb Kindah.[783] The people and a number of men from the government forces gathered and pelted them with stones, fought against them, and threw parapets[784] upon them. About twenty Qarmaṭians were killed, and the Qarmaṭians were forced from the city. Isḥāq ⌜b. ʿImrān⌝ and the troops with him went out and advanced in battle lines against the Qarmaṭians. He ordered the inhabitants of al-Kūfah to be on guard, lest the Qarmaṭians find them unprepared and enter the city. On the Day of Slaughtering, the battle between them was fought uninterruptedly until the time of the afternoon prayer. Then the Qarmaṭians were routed and fled toward al-Qādisiyyah.

The inhabitants of al-Kūfah repaired their wall and moat and joined the men of the central authorities in guarding the city night and day. Isḥāq b. ʿImrān wrote to the central authorities asking for reinforcements. A number of the officers of the central authorities were mobilized to go out to them , // among them: [2262]
Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī b. Wazīr,[785] Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn al-Turkī,[786] al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. Bughā,[787] the eunuch Bishr al-Afshīnī,[788] Jinnī

[782] For *ālah* "outfit," which includes banners, insignia, etc., see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, II, 48ff.

[783] Presumably, the entrance to the Jabbānat Kindah section of al-Kūfah.

[784] The meaning of *str* "parapets" (?) in this context is quite uncertain.

[785] Ṭāhir was entrusted with presenting the insignia of office to the Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl after his father's death (see text below, 2279). In 296, he became involved in the affair of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. See ʿArīb, 29.

[786] Ibn Ṣawārtakīn was also involved in the affair of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. See ʿArīb, 26; *Eclipse*, I, 7. It is not known whether he was killed on that occurrence, but I know of no later reference to him.

[787] For al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, see text above, III, 1930, 1956.

[788] Bishr (R: "Yusr") al-Afshīnī is identical with Bishr, the *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj (whose nickname was Afshīn), although the two have received separate entries in the index of the Leiden edition. The identity is confirmed by the text below, 2268, where the bestowal of a robe of honor upon Bishr al-Afshīnī makes sense only if he was Bishr, the *mawlā* of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, who had a leading role in the event described there. He is also no doubt identical with Bishr the governor of Ṭarsūs in 302 (see text below, 2291, 2293), who appears in Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 15,

al-Ṣafwānī,[789] and Rā'iq al-Khazarī.[790] A number of the chamber pages and others were attached to them. On Tuesday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 15, 293 (Tuesday, October 7, 906), the first of them left. There was no commander-in-chief; each one of them commanded his own men. Al-Qāsim b. Sīmā and other Arab tribesmen from the desert areas in Diyār Muḍar,[791] the Euphrates Road, Daqūqā', Khānījār, and other regions gathered to rise up and march against the Qarmaṭians, since the men of the central authorities were dispersed in the Syrian region and Egypt. Messengers[792] went with this order to the Arab tribesmen, and they came.

Following this, word arrived at Baghdad ⌈this year⌉ that those who had gone to the relief of Isḥāq ⌈b. ʿImrān⌉ had left him and his men behind in al-Kūfah to secure the city and had gone out with their men against Zikrawayh. They went to a place four *mīl* (eight km) from al-Qādisiyyah known as al-Ṣaw'ar in the desert along the line (of al-Kūfah). Zikrawayh met them there, and they moved in battle lines against[793] him on Monday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 21, 293 (Monday, October 13, 906). ⌈According to another report, the battle took place on Sunday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 20. ⌉ The government forces left a distance of about a *mīl* (two km) between themselves and their train, leaving no fighting men behind with the train. The battle between them grew fierce. At the begining of
[2263] the day, it went against / / the Qarmaṭian and his men, and they were almost overcome. However, unbeknownst to the (government forces), Zikrawayh had set up an ambush[794] behind them. At midday, (the forces from) the ambush moved against the train and looted it. When the government forces saw the sword in their rear, they fled most ignominiously. The Qarmaṭian and his men

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as *'fsn* (!) al-Afshīnī. He may also be identical with Bishr al-Khādim who was appointed governor of Damascus and Aleppo by al-Qāhir in 321 (933) and who was killed, it seems, in the same year by the Ikhshīdid Muḥammad b. Ṭughj. See Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, I, 97.

789 Jinnī al-Ṣafwānī was entrusted with the security of Diyār Muḍar in 305 (917), (see above, n. 636). He was captured by the Qarmaṭians in 312 (925) (ʿArib, 124; *Eclipse*, I, 145), and there is no mention of him thereafter. See also above, n. 360.

790 See text below, 2265, but there does not seem to be further information about him. An identity with contemporary namesakes cannot be securely established.

791 RB: "Diyār Rabīʿah."

792 Text: *al-rasā'il* "messages"; RC: *al-rusul* "messengers."

793 R: *fa-ṣādafūhu* "they encountered him."

794 See above, n. 666.

put the government forces to the sword ⌜killing them⌝ as they wished. A number of Khazar and other chamber pages, about one hundred strong, remained steadfast and fought to the death, inflicting great losses upon the Qarmaṭians. The Qarmaṭians rounded up and took possession of the train of the government forces. The only men to escape were those who were saved by the excellence of their mounts or who were gravely wounded and hid among the dead and then walked with difficulty to al-Kūfah after the end of the battle. The swift camels in the train which had been sent by the central authorities along with their men, and which carried weapons and the outfit, were seized; there were about three hundred swift camels as well as five hundred mules, which were also seized. The government forces who were killed in the battle amounted to one thousand five hundred men, not counting pages, camel drivers,[795] and those in the train. The booty made in the battle by the Qarmaṭian and his men added to their strength. He broke into stores of provisions beside (the train?) and took food and barley and had it all carried to his camp on the mules of the government (forces). He then traveled from the location of the battle about five *mīl* (ten km) along the line to a place near the one known as Nahr al-Mathniyyah.[796] This was because the stench of the dead bothered them.

The source of the following report is Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ: // The Arab tribesmen to whom Zikrawayh had sent [2264] messages reached the gate of al-Kūfah, just as the Muslims had returned from their place of prayer together with Isḥāq b. ʿImrān. They dispersed in two directions and entered the houses of al-Kūfah. Earlier, they had set up a tent for al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad, the *dāʿī* of Zikrawayh, saying, "This[797] is the son of the Messenger of God." They shouted, "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" meaning al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh, whose corpse was hung at the gate of the bridge in Madīnat al-Salām. Their battle cry was, "O Aḥmad, O Muḥammad!" meaning the two sons of Zikrawayh who had been killed.[798] They displayed white banners, and they thought they might

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[795] Text: "porters"; read *wa-al-jammālīn* as in RB.
[796] The form of the name and the location are unknown.
[797] Referring to Zikrawayh as represented by the tent?
[798] That is, Yaḥyā (Muḥammad) and al-Ḥusayn (Aḥmad), here referred to by the names they claimed for themselves. See text above, III, 2218, 2220.

seduce the Kūfan mob with those words *they used.*[799] Isḥāq b. ʿImrān and *the men of his* who were with him speedily moved against them, repelling them and killing those who stood their ground. Some ⌜members of the family of Abū Ṭālib⌝[800] were there ⌜and fought alongside Isḥāq b. ʿImrān, as did some⌝ ordinary people.

The Qarmaṭians withdrew humbled,[801] and on the same day went to a village called al-ʿUshayrah[802] at the outer reaches of the administrative district of al-Sāliḥīn[803] and Nahr Yūsuf adjacent to the desert. They dispatched to the enemy of God, Zikrawayh ⌜b. Mihrawayh⌝, some people to bring him out of a hole in the ground in which he had been hiding for many years in the village of al-Darriyyah.[804] The inhabitants of the village of al-Ṣaw'ar
[2265] made him spit upon // their hands,[805] calling him the friend of God, and upon seeing him, they prostrated themselves before him. A number of his *dāʿīs* and intimates were also present. He told them that their greatest benefactor was al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad who had brought them back to the (true) religion after they had left it; if they would obey his command, he would fulfill the promises made to them and have them attain their hopes. He invented myths for them in which he mentioned verses of the Qur'ān, giving them an interpretation different from the one intended in the revelation. All the Arab tribesmen, *mawlās*, Nabataeans,[806] and others in whose hearts the love of unbelief was firmly planted, acknowledged that Zikrawayh was their foremost chief, their cave, and their refuge. They were certain of

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799 R: *alladhī aẓharū*, confirmed by C and Miskawayh.

800 The ʿAlid component was always strong in the Kūfan population, and having at least partial support from them in this situation was particularly important for the government.

801 The word used here (*khāsiʾīn*) recalls Qur. 2:65, 7:166, where it refers to monkeys.

802 The vocalization is uncertain and based upon a different Dhāt al-ʿUshayrah which occurs in the history of the Prophet. Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 52, reads al-ʿAshīrah.

803 Al-Sāliḥīn or al-Saylaḥīn, listed under al-Saylaḥūn in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 218f., where it is described as being located near al-Qādisiyyah. It is mentioned together with Nahr Yūsuf in the text above, II, 725.

804 The form and vocalization are uncertain. Perhaps, it is to be identified with Durubbā listed by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 561.

805 See the note in the Leiden edition and Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CL. Readings such as *yutlifūna* "spoiled him by their behavior" or the like, as in the Cairo edition, seem less likely.

806 That is, the native sedentary rural population.

victory and the attainment of their hopes. When Zikrawayh traveled with them, he was not accessible to them; they called him lord and did not let him go out to those in their camp. Al-Qāsim, not he, was actually in charge and executed matters according to his[807] views over an area extending to the outer reaches of the administrative region of al-Kūfah which is irrigated by the Euphrates. He let them know that all the people of the Sawād were coming out to join him. He remained there some twenty days, during which time he sent out messengers of his in disguise[808] among the Sawādīs. However, none of them joined him,[809] except those who suffered hard times. They were about five hundred men with their women and children.

⌈The central authorities sent parties of soldiers against him⌉ and issued written orders to all those whom it had dispatched to al-Anbār and Hīt to secure (those cities); for it was feared that those Qarmaṭians who had remained at the two watering places might return there upon departing for al-Kūfah. The central authorities therefore rushed a number of officers against him,[810] among them: Bishr[811] al-Afshīnī, Jinnī al-Ṣafwānī, Niḥrīr al-ʿUmarī,[812] and Rā'iq, the ranking knight[813] of the Commander of the Faithful, as well as the young pages known as the chamber
pages. They attacked the enemies of God // near the village of [2266]
al-Ṣaw'ar killing their foot soldiers[814] and a number of their horsemen. The Qarmaṭians let their tents fall into their hands. They entered them and busied themselves with them, whereupon the Qarmaṭians turned upon them and routed them.

The source of the following report is someone who ⌈mentioned that he⌉ was present in the office of Muḥammad b. Dāwūd ⌈b. al-Jarrāḥ⌉, when some Qarmaṭians, among them the brother-

[807] Of Zikrawayh or of al-Qāsim?
[808] Text: *mustalḥiqīn* "asking them to join"; read *mustakhfīn* as in R. There seems to be no manuscript authority for the reading of the Leiden edition.
[809] Text: "them"; read *bihī* "him" as in R.
[810] Text: "against them"; read *ilayhi* "against him" as in RC and Miskawayh.
[811] R and Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 50, read again "Yusr."
[812] Niḥrīr al-ʿUmarī (al-ʿAmrī ?) disappears from history with his capture by the Qarmaṭian Abū Ṭāhir, the son of Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī, on Friday, al-Muḥarram 22, 312 (Friday, April 30, 924). See *Eclipse*, I, 121; Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 57.
[813] This may be the meaning of *fatā* here, rather than "slave."
[814] RC: *rijālahum* "their men." This might be the more original text.

in-law[815] of Zikrawayh, were brought in to him. The brother-in-law told him as follows: Zikrawayh was in hiding at my residence, in a cellar of my house protected by an iron door. We had a movable furnace, and whenever a search party came to us, we placed the furnace on the cellar door, and a woman got up to heat it. Zikrawayh remained in this situation for four years. That was in the days of al-Muʿtaḍid. ⌜He used to say, "I shall not go out as long as al-Muʿtaḍid is among the living."⌝ He was then moved from my residence to a house which had a room built in behind its door. When the door of the house was opened, it would cover the door of the room; thus, a person entering would not notice the door of the room in which Zikrawayh was. This remained the situation until al-Muʿtaḍid died. He then dispatched *dāʿīs* and worked toward coming out to rebel.

When *the report—I mean,* the report of the battle between the Qarmaṭian and the government forces at al-Ṣaw'ar—reached the central authorities in Baghdad, people considered it an important event. The officers mentioned by me were mobilized to go out to al-Kūfah, and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq was made commander-in-chief. *He was followed next by ʿAllān b. Muḥammad b. Kushmard[816] with a large army. Waṣīf b. Sawārtakīn[817] had preceded them earlier with a substantial force.* A number of Arab tribesmen from the Banū Shaybān and the Namir, about two thousand men, were attached to (Ibn Kundājīq) and given their allotments.

[2267] On Jumādā I 18, 293 (March 17, 906), // a group of about ten persons arrived in Baghdad from Mecca. They went to the Caliph's court and asked that troops be sent to their land, because they were afraid that the rebel in the Yemen[818] might invade it, as they thought that he was already nearby.

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815 The *silf* "brother of the sister of the wife" of Zikrawayh (see text above, III, 2127) may be identical with al-Muntaqim, although al-Muntaqim is described as the brother of Zikrawayh's wife. See below, n. 889.

816 There is no reason to doubt the parentage of ʿAllān as indicated here. It would seem to make him a brother of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kushmard (see above, nn. 398 and 657). For the unhappy role ʿAllān played in the following year, see text below, 2270f. One of ʿAllān's pages is mentioned in ʿArīb, 68, l. 3, *sub anno* 305 (917-8).

817 The spelling with S, instead of Ṣ, occurs also elsewhere in the Ṭabarī manuscripts.

818 See above, n. 751, and van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, 219, n. 3.

On Friday, Rajab 12, 293 (Friday, May 9, 906), a dispatch which had reached the central authorities was read from the pulpit in Baghdad. It said that the inhabitants of Ṣanʿāʾ and other cities in the Yemen had gathered against the rebel who had seized power in their country. They fought and routed him, and his troops fled, whereupon he had withdrawn to some place in the Yemen.

On Shawwāl 3, 293 (July 28, 906), the Caliph bestowed a robe of honor upon Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj and formally appointed him governor of the Yemen. Ibn Ḥājj left on Dhū al-Qaʿdah 5, 293 (August 28, 906), and went to his administrative post in the Yemen, staying there until he died.[819]

On ⌜Rajab⌝ 23, 293 (May 20, 906), al-Muktafī's tent was taken out ⌜and set up⌝ at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah in expectation of his departure for Syria on account of Ibn al-Khalīj. But then, on Rajab 24, 293 (May 21, 906), a mail pouch ⌜from Egypt⌝ arrived at Baghdad with a report from Fātik. It indicated that he and the officers had advanced against al-Khalījī and that many battles had taken place between them. In the last battle, most of al-Khalījī's men had been killed, and the rest then fled. They had overcome them and had taken over their camp. Al-Khalījī had fled, and eventually entered al-Fusṭāṭ where he hid in the house of a local man. The allies then entered al-Fusṭāṭ, and when they had established themselves there, Fātik was shown where al-Khalījī was and those of his partisans who were hiding with him. He had them arrested and detained on behalf of (al-Muktafī?). Al-Muktafī wrote to[820] // Fātik ordering him to bring al-Khalījī and those [2268]
who were seized[821] with him to Madīnāt al-Salām.

Al-Muktafī's tents which had been taken out to Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah were brought back, and he sent word to return his stores which had already passed Takrīt, which was done. Fātik then sent al-Khalījī and a number of the men captured with him from Egypt to Madīnat al-Salām with Bishr,[822] the *mawlā* of

819 See above, n. 401. For doubts about the chronology offered here, see van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, 182, n. 2.
820 R indicates the passive "Fātik received written orders."
821 R: "and those partisans of his who had been hiding."
822 See above, n. 788.

Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj. On Thursday, Ramaḍān 15, 293 (Thursday, July 10, 906), al-Khalījī was brought into Madīnat al-Salām by way of Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah. In front of him, there were twenty-one[823] men upon camels, wearing hoods and silken cloaks, among them, reportedly, the two sons of Bīnak,[824] Abū Shikāl,[825] who had come to *the camp of* the central authorities from the camp of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct, and the black eunuch Ṣandal al-Muzāḥimī.[826] *Ibn al-Khalījī[827] was carried on a camel, hanging on a stake which had been placed on it. Behind the back of his head, there was an artificial hand (*mithāl kaff*). When the camel moved with him, the hand struck the back of his head.*[828] When al-Khalījī came to al-Muktafī, the Caliph looked him over and ordered that he be detained in the palace, while the others were to be incarcerated in the New Prison. He sent them to Ibn ʿAmrawayh[829] who was in charge of the police in Baghdad. He then bestowed robes of honor upon his wazīr al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan for his skillful handling of matters leading to this victory. He also bestowed a robe of honor upon Bishr al-Afshīnī.[830]

*In this year, al-Muktafī married the daughter of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.[831] They were married by Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf.*

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823 Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 236, ed. Pellat, V, 187: "twenty-four."

824 The form of the name is uncertain. Bīnak seems to be the above-mentioned man who was killed in 264 (877). See text above, III, 1924. There does not seem to be any further record of his sons.

825 The form of the name is uncertain, and no further information seems to be available about him.

826 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 100, mentions him *sub anno* 283 (896) as a *mawlā* of Muzāḥim b. Khāqān. Muzāḥim was a brother of Aḥmad b. Khāqān and a governor of Egypt. He died there on Monday, al-Muḥarram 5, 254 (Monday, January 5, 868) (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, II, 338f.); in the text above, III, 1693, his death is dated in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 253 (December 867).

827 In this passage, R uses Ibn al-Khalījī throughout.

828 For al-Khalījī's transportation to Baghdad, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 154.

829 For Muḥammad b. ʿAmrawayh, see ʿArīb, 21, 23, 30; *Eclipse*, I, 4, 7, 14. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 174, he died in Āmid in 298 (910-11).

830 See above, n. 788.

831 Apparently, a half-sister of Qaṭr al-Nadā whom al-Muʿtaḍid married instead of his son, the future al-Muktafī, see text above, III, 2134. She seems to have been among the members of the Ṭūlūnid family transferred to Baghdad. There may have been some political motive for the marriage, anticipating developments which, as it turned out, failed to materialize.

On Shawwāl 5, 293 (July 30, 906), the head of the Qarmaṭian named Naṣr, the one who had looted Hīt, was brought to Baghdad on top of a lance.[832]

On Shawwāl 7, 293 (August 1, 906), word arrived at Madīnat al-Salām that the Byzantines had raided Qūrus.[833] Its inhabitants fought them, but the Byzantines routed and killed most of them as well as the chieftains of the Banū Tamīm. They entered the city, burned down its mosque, and drove away the remaining inhabitants. // [2269]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌈al-Hāshimī.⌉

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[832] Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 51, adds, no doubt following some Ṭabarī recension: "It was carried around on both sides of Baghdad." For the episode, see Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 374, who indicates the correct day of the week (Wednesday).

[833] That is, Cyrrhus, approximately sixty km northwest of Aleppo. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 19; Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Kyrros; *Der Kleine Pauly*, s. v. Kyrrhos. See the location indicated on the map between pp. 240 and 241 in Canard, *Ḥamdanides*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 199, describes the town as containing impressive ancient ruins.

# The ⌜Important⌝ Events of the Year

# 294

## (October 22, 906 - October 11, 907)

One of the events was the arrival of Ibn Kayghalagh[834] in Ṭarsūs in order to undertake a raid. He arrived on al-Muḥarram⌜1,⌝ 294 (October 22, 906). Rustum went on the raid with him; it was Rustum's second. They went as far as Salandū, where God gave them victory, and then reached Ālis.[835] About five thousand persons fell into their hands. They killed a great number of Byzantines and then returned safely.

On al-Muḥarram 12,[836] 294 (November 2, 906), word reached Madīnat al-Salām that the Qarmaṭian Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh had left the place known as Nahr al-Mathniyyah with the intention of attacking the pilgrims and that he had reached a place four *mīl* (eight km) from Wāqiṣah.[837]

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834 That is, Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh. Note the slightly different account of this episode in the text below, 2275f.

835 Apparently, the Halys/Alys river, the present Kızıl Irmak. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 20. In the text above, III, 1237 (also 1351), *al-Lms* is explained as the river of Seleucia (the ancient Kalykadnos in Cilicia and the present Gök-su), located at about a day's distance from Ṭarsūs and the place of ransom negotiations; but see above, n. 174. One manuscript consistently reads *'Ils*, and this caused Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 64, to quote Ṭabarī's identification, s. v. Ālis. Whatever locality may be meant on the first occurrence in the text above, III, 1237, it has been assumed, on the following pages, to represent the Halys. See Vasiliev, I, 146, n. 4, and Marin's translation, 62, n. 316.

836 ʿArīb, 14, l. 6: "al-Muḥarram 11."

837 The pilgrim stations on the Mecca Road, also referred to as "the Highway," existed for the purpose of providing fodder and water for the pilgrim caravans. Many of those stations were also protected by fortresses, as described in the text above, III, 486, and in the narrative here. All this was necessary and required great expenditures that were born by the government, but, as can be seen here clearly, the "Road" remained always highly vulnerable.

The names of the desert stations often reflect certain features of the desert terrain. The places were important in the lives of large numbers of Muslims. Thus their names were familiar, and most of them are listed in the geographical literature. However, some minor localities, not situated directly on the Mecca Road but mentioned by Ṭabarī in his report, are not easily identifiable. The section of the Mecca

According to the report of Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, the Qarmaṭians went westward[838] in the desert and eventually reached a watering place called Salmān.[839] The region between them and the Sawād was a waterless desert. The Qarmaṭian stayed where he was with the intention of attacking the pilgrims and waited for the first caravan. It reached Wāqiṣah on al-Muḥarram 6 or 7, 294 (October 27 or 28, 906). The local people warned the pilgrims, informing them that they were four *mīl* from the Qarmaṭians. So they did not stay but moved on and were saved. Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Rabaʿī[840] and Sīmā al-Ibrāhīmī[841] were in this caravan. When the caravan persisted in traveling on, the Qarmaṭian went to Wāqiṣah and asked the people there about it. When they informed him that the caravan had not stayed there, he suspected them of having warned it and therefore killed / / a number of the [2270] fodder-sellers there and burned the fodder, while the inhabitants fortified themselves in their fortress. He stayed there several days and then left for Zubālah.

According to the report of Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, the troops went toward the Springs of al-Ṭaff[842] in pursuit of Zikrawayh, but then departed from there when they learned that he was in Salmān. ʿAllān b. Kushmard went after Zikrawayh with a special detachment of cavalry by way of the Mecca Highway. They encamped at al-Sibāl,[843] and ʿAllān then marched toward Wāqiṣah and encamped there after the first caravan had passed through.

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Road dealt with here is located approximately 28°-30° N, 44°-45° E, roughly one-third the distance between al-Kūfah/al-Baṣrah and Mecca. Map B in Thilo, *Ortsnamen*, for instance, shows Qarʿā', Wāqiṣah, Salmān, al-ʿAqabah, Zubālah, Thaʿlabiyyah, and Fayd. On a 1958 map, scale 1:2,000,000, published by the Department of the Interior, U. S. Geological Survey, we find Birkat al-ʿAqabah and Zubālah still listed. According to various entries in Yāqūt's *Muʿjam*, the stations between al-Kūfah and Wāqiṣah were al-Mughīthiyyah, al-Zubaydiyyah, and al-Qarʿā'. Counting up the individual distances indicated, the distance between al-Qādisiyyah and Wāqiṣah was eighty *mīl* (160 km). See the map showing the pilgrim routes of Arabia on p. 22 of W. C. Brice (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Islam* (Leiden 1981). On the Mecca Road, see also *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s. v. Darb Zubayda, and the unpublished doctoral dissertation by S. ʿA. ʿA. al-Rashīd mentioned in *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s.v. Fayd.

838 Lit., from an eastern direction.

839 See above, n. 837, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 121f.

840 R: "b. ʿAlī." No further information is available for him.

841 He is hardly identical with Sīmā al-Khazarī mentioned in *Eclipse*, I, 46.

842 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 539ff. It seems that the troops originally went north when they should have gone south.

843 Both the form and the location of this place are uncertain.

On the way, Zikrawayh passed groups of the Banū Asad. He took them and[844] their tents along with him on his move toward the Highway and against the pilgrims returning from Mecca.

On al-Muḥarram 16, 294 (November 6, 906), the pigeon post from al-Kūfah brought the news to Baghdad that on Sunday, al-Muḥarram 11, 294 (Saturday, November 1, 906), Zikrawayh had attacked the caravan of the Khurāsānians at al-ʿAqabah[845] on the Mecca Road, and that they had fought him energetically. He had interrogated them asking whether government men were among them. When they denied it and said that they were (simply) pilgrims, he told them that he did not want them and they should go. When the caravan went on its way, he followed and then attacked it. His men started to prick the camels with lances and rip them with swords, so that they broke lose and the caravan got confused. They fell upon the pilgrims and killed them at will. They killed men and women, took captive the
[2271] women they wanted, and seized for themselves what // there was in the caravan.

One of the pilgrims who escaped encountered ʿAllān b. Kushmard who asked him what had happened, and he told him what had befallen the Khurāsānian caravan. The pilgrim then said: "There is only a short distance between you and the people.[846] Tonight or tomorrow, the second caravan will arrive. When they see a banner of the central authorities, they will take heart. In God's name, show concern for them!" But ʿAllān immediately turned back and ordered those with him to do likewise, saying, "I will not expose the government forces to being killed."

Zikrawayh then came up, and the second caravan arrived. Using a number of messengers who avoided the Highway, the central authorities had informed the leaders of the second and third caravans, and the officers and civilian officials in them, by letter about what the wicked man was doing to the pilgrims. They ordered them to be on guard against him and to go toward Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣrah instead of following the Highway, or to

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844 Text: *min* "from"; Mss. *bi-(buyūtihā)*. The correction in the Leiden text seems unnecessary.

845 See above, n. 837, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 692, l. 6.

846 R: *baynahū* "between him (the Qarmaṭian)." This suggests that "the people" may be the Qarmaṭians rather than the troops and pilgrims in the caravan.

return to Fayd[847] or al-Madīnah and wait for the troops to join them. The messages had reached them, but they did not listen and did not stay and wait.

The people in the second caravan pressed on. It included al-Mubārak al-Qummī, Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-ʿUqaylī, and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī.[848] The criminals had come to Wāqiṣah, and before leaving, they had made the watering places there unusable, filling the ponds and wells with the corpses of camels and horses whose bellies were split open. Now they came to the ʿAqabah station on Monday, al-Muḥarram 12, 294 (Sunday, November 2, 906). The men in the second caravan fought them. Abū al-ʿAshā'ir[849] was at the head of the caravan with his men, while Mubārak al-Qummī was in the rear with his. The fighting was fierce. Eventually, they routed the criminals, and they were about // to overcome them when the criminals found the rear [2272] unawares and fell upon them from that direction. They thrust their lances into the sides and bellies of the camels which (fell upon the fighters in the caravan and) crushed them. They thus overpowered them and put them to the sword, killing them to the last man, except those whom they made slaves. They then dispatched horsemen several *mīl* beyond al-ʿAqabah where they encountered those who had escaped the slaughter. They granted them guarantees of safe-conduct, but then returned and killed all of them. They took captive the women they liked and seized all the money and goods. Al-Mubārak al-Qummī and his son Muẓaffar[850] were killed, and Abū al-ʿAshā'ir was captured. The corpses were collected and stacked, forming a large hill. Abū al-ʿAshā'ir's hands and feet were then cut off, and he was decapitated. The women they did not want were released. Some of the wounded had fallen among those killed. During the night, they dragged themselves away; some of them died, a few were saved. The Qarmaṭian women always went around among those killed

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847 A major station on the Mecca Road, Fayd was used by pilgrims to leave provisions and things to be picked up on their return journey. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 927, and *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s. v. Fayd.

848 I have not succeeded in finding further information about him.

849 That is, Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-ʿUqaylī.

850 Al-Muẓaffar b. al-Mubārak al-Qummī appears in connection with the wazīr al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan in Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 188.

with their children who offered them water. Those who talked to them (indicating that they were still alive), they[851] finished off.

Reportedly about twenty-thousand ⌜pilgrims⌝ were in the caravan. All of them were killed, except a small number. These included those who prevailed over the enemy ⌜and were thus saved, although left⌝ without provisions, the wounded who had fallen among those killed and later escaped, and those whom the Qarmaṭians made slaves to serve them. The money and splendid goods seized by the Qarmaṭians in this caravan were reportedly worth two million dīnārs.

One of the craftsmen working in precious metals[852] is the source for the report that letters from the Egyptian workers in precious metals had reached them saying, "You will become rich this year. The family of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the Egyptian officers who had
[2273] been sent // to Madīnat al-Salām, and people of similar standing have shipped their Egyptian property to Madīnat al-Salām. They have had gold and silver vessels and jewelry melted down into ingots." The ingots were taken to Mecca to be carried with the pilgrims to Madīnat al-Salām. All of it was lost, *and nothing was recovered.*

While the Qarmaṭians were killing and looting this caravan on Monday (Sunday, November 2, 906), the caravan of the Khurāsānians reportedly approached. A number of Qarmaṭians went out against them and attacked them. They suffered the same fate.

When Zikrawayah had finished with the people of the second pilgrim caravan, seizing their possessions and allowing their women to be taken as legal booty, he filled the pools and wells at al-ʿAqabah with the corpses of people and horses and left immediately.

The news of his assault on ⌜the second of⌝ the caravans of the central authorities reached Madīnat al-Salām on Friday evening, al-Muḥarram 16, 294 (Thursday, November 6, 906), and greatly disturbed the central authorities and everybody else. The wazīr al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb mobilized Muḥammad ⌜b. Dāwūd⌝ b. al-Jarrāḥ, the secretary in charge of the Offices[853] of the Land

851 Referring, it seems, to the Qarmaṭian men, and not to the women and children.
852 *Ḍarrāb* usually indicates coiner but here it has probably a more general meaning, referring to gold and silver workers for whom the influx of the ingots promised more work. The reporter was no doubt a *ḍarrāb* living in Baghdad.
853 R has the singular.

Tax and the Estates in the East as well as the Office of the Army, to go to al-Kūfah and stay there, in order to dispatch troops against the Qarmaṭians. Ibn al-Jarrāḥ left Baghdad on al-Muḥarram 19, 294 (November 9, 906), carrying with him much money with which to pay the troops.

Zikrawayh then traveled to Zubālah. He encamped there and deployed vanguards and rearguards, because he was afraid that the government forces stationed in al-Qādisiyyah would make contact with him and also because he was expecting the arrival of the third caravan which included the money and the merchants. He then traveled to al-Tha'labiyyah, and then to al-Shuqūq.[854] He stayed between al-Shuqūq and al-Biṭān[855] ⌜at the edge of the sand dunes⌝ in // a place known as al-Ṭulayḥ,[856] waiting for the third [2274] caravan. It included the officers Nafīs al-Muwalladī and Ṣāliḥ al-Aswad.[857] (Ṣāliḥ) had with him the umbrella that al-Mu'taḍid had adorned with precious jewels,[858] and the (caravan) chest. Also included in the caravan were: Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Ash'ath,[859] who was chief judge of Mecca ⌜and al-Madīnah and who was also responsible for the Mecca Road⌝ and the expenditures for its upkeep, Maymūn b. Ibrāhīm al-Kātib[860] who was in charge of the affairs of the Office of Land Tax Bookkeeping and the Estates, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who was known as Ibn al-Hazallaj,[861] al-Furāt b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt,[862] al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl,[863] a relative of al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan, who

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[854] According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 309, al-Shuqūq was located after Wāqiṣah on the Mecca Road.

[855] According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 661, (al-)Biṭān was located after al-Shuqūq and before al-Tha'labiyyah.

[856] Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 375, l. 11, refers to this place as al-Ṭlyḥ belonging to al-Habīr (below, n. 865). Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 379, and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 60, ll. 4f., omit the name and refer only to al-Habīr. 'Arīb has *al-Khlyj*, apparently an error.

[857] For Nafīs, see above, n. 399. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 375, l. 12, mentions Nafīs and Aḥmad b. Sīmā in this context. I have no further information about Ṣāliḥ al-Aswad.

[858] Rather than "jewel" in the singular. For further references to the umbrella as symbolizing the presence of royal authority, see text above, III, 1555, and *Introductio etc.*, CCCXVI.

[859] I have no further information about him.

[860] Abū al-Qāsim Maymūn b. Ibrāhīm al-Mādharā'ī is mentioned in Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 203, 250, as head of the *Dīwān al-zimām*. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 338.

[861] See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 184.

[862] I have no record of him. On his father, see above, n. 415.

[863] His relationship to the wazīr cannot be ascertained.

was postmaster of the two holy cities, and ʿAli b. al-ʿAbbās al-Nahīkī.[864]

When the people in this caravan reached Fayd, they learned about the evil Zikrawayh and his men. They stayed in Fayd several days and waited for reinforcements to come to them from the central authorities, as Ibn Kushmard had returned from the Road to al-Qādisiyyah with the troops which the central authorities had dispatched with him as well as in advance of him and afterwards. *When the caravan came into contact with the accursed one in a place called al-Habīr,[865] which was on al-Muḥarram 21, 294 (November 11, 906), he confronted them. They fought him all that day until nightfall, and then he withdrew from them. In the morning, he came once more to engage them in combat, and they fought each other. On the third day, the people of the caravan in al-Habīr who were without water became thirsty and, after fighting, surrendered. He put them to the sword; only a few of them escaped. The Qarmaṭians seized the women and everything in the caravan.*

*In this year, the central authorities dispatched two thousand and two hundred horsemen of the Banū Shaybān to fight the Qarmaṭians.*

*In this year,* Zikrawayh went to Fayd where the representative
[2275] of the central authorities was a man called // Ḥāmid b. Fīrūz.[866] Ḥāmid, together with about a hundred men who were with him in the mosque,[867] sought refuge from Zikrawayh in one of Fayd's two fortresses, and he garrisoned the other fortress. Zikrawayh now began to correspond with the inhabitants of Fayd asking them to surrender their official (Ḥāmid) and the troops among them.[868] The inhabitants of Fayd, however, did not respond to his

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864 Al-Nahīkī (not al-Nuhaykī) appears to be identical with the official mentioned by Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 87, where he appears as the person in charge of the important land tax district of Bādūrayā.

865 A similar occurrence at al-Habīr in the year 312 (924) is mentioned by ʿArīb, 118f.; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 951.

The addition in R fills the lacuna correctly assumed in the Leiden edition. It agrees fully with what is found in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 160.

866 I have not succeeded in obtaining further information about him.

867 This appears to imply that the Qarmaṭians made their move when the people were at prayer in the mosque.

868 Read *fīhim* as in R and other sources.

request, and he fought them without result. ⌈He continued:⌉[869] When he saw that he could not do anything with them, he withdrew to al-Nibāj[870] and then went to Ḥufayr Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī.[871]

On Rabī' I 1, 294 (December 20, 906), al-Muktafī mobilized Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn with a number of officers. They left al-Qādisiyyah by the Khaffān Road.[872] On Saturday, Rabī' I 22, 294 (Saturday, January 10, 907), Waṣīf encountered Zikrawayh. They fought all day long, then night intervened between them. They spent the night on guard against each other. He then returned to attack them. The government troops caused a great slaughter among the Qarmaṭians. They got to the enemy of God, Zikrawayh, and when he turned his back, one of the soldiers struck the back of his head with a sword in such a way that it went through his brain. Zikrawayh, his lieutenant,[873] and a number of his intimates and relatives, among them his son,[874] his secretary, and his wife were taken captive, and the troops took possession of everything in his camp. Zikrawayh lived five more days and then died. His belly was split open, *and emptied of its contents.* He was carried away as he was and *taken to Madīnat al-Salām. He was carried upon a camel. The hood had been placed on his head, and he was dressed in a brocade cloak. In front of him was his wife Mu'minah,[875] wearing a silken dress and wrap. Also paraded before him were the umbrella which he had seized and from which he had removed the jewels, and the captives.* ⌈The captured pilgrims who had remained alive while they were in his hands were returned⌉[876]

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869 Presumably, Ibn al-Jarrāḥ.

870 See text above, I, 1914; Thilo, *Ortsnamen*, 76f., map. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 736f., does not seem to be quite certain about the location of al-Nibāj; he assumes it to be near Fayd halfway between al-Baṣrah and Mecca.

871 R and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 60, l. 10: "Ḥafar." See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 294, who supports this reading. On the famous early Muslim Abū Mūsā al-'Ash'arī, see *EI²*, s. v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā.

872 Khaffān was located near al-Kūfah. The road passing by it was occasionally used by the Mecca pilgrims. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 456.

873 It seems that this lieutenant cannot be further identified.

874 It is not clear which of his sons is meant.

875 This appears to be the correct reading, giving the name of Zikrawayh's wife.

876 The concluding words to this account in Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 56, were probably taken from the Ṭabarī manuscript used by him: "The Qarmaṭians were then rounded up, and a number of them asked for guarantees of safe-conduct."

In this year, Ibn Kayghalagh undertook a raid from Ṭarsūs. He made four thousand enemy captives and seized many horses and
[2276] cattle as well as goods. One of the Patrikioi came // to him to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct and became a Muslim. Ibn Kayghalagh left Ṭarsūs for this raid on al-Muḥarram 1, 294 (October 22, 906).[877]

In this year, the Patrikios Andronikos,[878] who was the Byzantine ruler's military commander of those living in the border regions, wrote to the central authorities in Baghdad seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct. It was granted to him. The Byzantine ruler had sent men to him to arrest him. So he gave weapons to about two hundred Muslims being held captive in his fortress[879] and left, sending them out along with some of his sons. They fell at night upon the Patrikios who had been sent to arrest Andronikos and killed a large number of his men and looted their camp. In Jumādā I, 294 (February 17-March 18, 907), Rustum had left with the people of the border regions to rescue Andronikos and had reached Qūniyah soon after the incident.[880] The Patrikioi learned that the Muslims were marching against them and turned back. Andronikos sent his son to Rustum, while Rustum sent his secretary and a number of sailors[881] (to Andronikos). They spent the night in the fortress. In the morning, Andronikos took out his money and goods and left for the Muslim camp with all the Muslim captives who were with him, those (Muslims) who[882] had come to him,[883] and the ⌜Christians⌝[884] who agreed with

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[877] See above, n. 834. This paragraph was used by Ibn ʿAsākir in his biography of Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh (see above, n, 677). It seems quite probable that the Patrikios mentioned here was, in fact, the Andronikos mentioned in the following paragraph which may go back to another, better-informed source.

[878] See above, n. 722. For the passage, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 20f. See also Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 174, which contains information on his son Constantine as well.

[879] Presumably referring to the fortress of Qūniyah (Konya). Canard (see Vasiliev, II, 187) indicates the fortress of Kabala near Konya.

[880] Referring, it seems, to the above-mentioned attack by Andronikos upon the emissary of the Byzantine government.

[881] The reading "sailors" is doubted by Canard but seems to be correct.

[882] The meaning is not quite clear. Perhaps, *minhum wa-man* should be corrected to *mim-man* to yield the sense: "and the Christians who agreed with his decision and had joined him."

[883] Text: *ilayhim* "to them"; RB *ilayhi*. Canard: "ceux qui étaient allés les retrouver."

[884] For "Christians," R has "those."

his decision. The Muslims laid Qūniyah waste, and then returned to Ṭarsūs together with Andronikos, the Muslim captives, and the Christians who were with Andronikos. / / [2277]

In Jumādā II,[885] 294 (February 17-March 18, 906), *a battle* took place between the men of al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān and a number of Zikrawayh's men. The latter had fled from the battle in which Zikrawayh suffered the fate he did, and had taken the Euphrates Road intending to go to Syria. A number of them were killed, and a number of their women and children were taken captive.

In this year, emissaries of the Byzantine king, including the maternal uncle of his son Leon and the eunuch Basilios,[886] accompanied by a number of people, arrived at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah with a letter from the king to al-Muktafī asking him to start ransom negotiations concerning the Muslims held in his territory and the Byzantines held in Muslim territory. Al-Muktafī was asked to send an emissary to Byzantine territory to gather the Muslim captives held there and to reach an agreement (on the ransom conditions) with him. The eunuch Basilios was to remain in Ṭarsūs in order to assemble Byzantine captives from the border regions and convey them, together with the representative of the central authorities,[887] to the place where the ransom negotiations were to be held. The delegation remained in Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah for several days and was then brought into Baghdad. They carried gifts from the Byzantine ruler and brought along ten Muslim captives. The gifts were accepted, and the request of the Byzantine ruler was granted.

In this year, a man who claimed that he was the Sufyānī[888] was seized in Syria. He and a number of people with him were

885 R: "Jumādā I."

886 The Byzantine Emperor at the time was Leon VI (886-912). Canard, *Sources arabes*, 21, has no comment on the passage and the identity of the royal personage meant here. No identification of the eunuch is possible.

887 The reference appears to be to the emissary sent to oversee the ransom negotiations, most likely a ranking member of the judiciary.

888 The expected mahdī, in this case an individual whose claims centered around pro-Umayyad groups. See *EI²*, s. v. Mahdī. R has this entry after the following one.

brought from Syria to the Caliph's court. He was reportedly suffering from delusions.

In this year, the Arab tribesmen on the Mecca Road seized two men, one of whom was known as al-Ḥaddād, and the other as al-Muntaqim.[889] The one known as al-Muntaqim reportedly was
[2278] the brother of Zikrawayh's wife. // Both were handed over to Nizār in al-Kūfah, and he sent them on to the Caliph's *court* in Baghdad. According to the Arab tribesmen, the two had come ⌜to them⌝ to call them to rebel against the central authorities.

⌜In this year, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān sent a man known as al-Kayyāl[890] together with sixty of his men from the Syrian Road to the central authorities in Baghdad. They belonged to Zikrawayh's men who had come to al-Ḥusayn for guarantees of safe-conduct.⌝

⌜In this year, the Patrikios Andronikos arrived in Baghdad.⌝[891]

In ⌜Ramaḍān, 294 (June 15-July 14, 907),⌝ a battle took place *on the Euphrates Road* between al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān and the Kalb, Namir, Asad, and other Arab tribesmen who had gathered against him. They routed him and pursued him as far as the gate of Aleppo.

In this year, the Arab Ṭayyi' tribesmen besieged Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn in Fayd. Waṣīf had been sent out as military commander for the pilgrimage season. He was besieged three days and then went out against them. He attacked them, killing some of them. Then they fled, and Waṣīf left ⌜Fayd⌝ with the pilgrims who were with him.

Leading the pilgrimage *this year* was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌜al-Hāshimī.⌝

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[889] That is, "The Avenger." See above, n. 815. Nothing seems to be known about the individual named al-Ḥaddād "The Smith."

[890] There is probably no relationship to the aforementioned Miqdām b. al-Kayyāl (above, n. 754).

[891] Canard, *Sources arabes*, 21 and 318 (from Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 174).

# The Events of the Year 295

## (October 12, 907 - September 29, 908)

Among the events of this year was the departure of ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mismaʿī[892] from the city of Iṣbahān. He left for a village several *farsakhs* away, with about ten thousand Kurds and others reportedly attached to him in an open show of opposition // to the central authorities. Badr al-Ḥammāmī was ordered [2279] to move against him, and a number of officers and about five thousand troops were attached to him.

In this year, al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā[893] made a surprise attack upon the Arab Ṭayyi' ⌈tribesmen⌉ who were fighting Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn. He reportedly killed seventy of their men and took a number of their horsemen captive.

On Ṣafar 14, 295 (November 24, 907), Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, the governor of Khurāsān and Transoxania, died. ⌈His son⌉, Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl ⌈b. Aḥmad⌉,[894] took his father's place as governor and took charge of his official functions. Al-Muktafī reportedly held an audience on Rabīʿ II 4, 295 (January 12, 908), during which he personally tied a standard *for him* and handed it over to Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī b. Wazīr. He bestowed a robe of honor upon Ṭāhir and ordered him to take the standard to Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl.

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892 Al-Mismaʿī d. Saturday, Rabīʿ II 21, 305 (Saturday, October 11, 917). He had a reputation as a ḥadīth scholar. See ʿArīb, 69; *Eclipse*, index (where he is listed together with his son, below, n. 897). R consistently: "Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh," his son's name.

893 ʿArīb, 18f., has al-Ḥurr (?) for al-Ḥusayn; R: "al-Ḥasan." No identification with the aforementioned al-Rabaʿī (see above, n. 840) is possible, since it is not known whether al-Rabaʿī survived the disaster in 294.

894 The Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl was killed in 301 (914). See text below, 2289.

In this year, Manṣūr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Manṣūr al-Kātib[895] was sent out against ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Misma'ī. ⌈He wrote to al-Misma'ī ⌉ in order to frighten him regarding the consequences of opposing (the central authorities) and then marched against him. When he reached him, he had a discussion with him, whereupon al-Misma'ī again became loyal to the central authorities. Together with Manṣūr b. ʿAbdallāh, al-Misma'ī left with some of his pages to go to the Caliph's court. He left someone behind in Iṣbahān to carry out his administrative functions. Al-Muktafī became reconciled with him, gave him gifts,[896] and bestowed robes of honor upon him and upon his son.[897]

In this year, al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā attacked al-Kurdī[898] who had seized power in the region of Mosul. He overcame al-Kurdī's men and allowed his camp and property to be looted, but al-Kurdī himself escaped and sought refuge in al-Jibāl. He was never
[2280] caught. //

In this year, al-Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj conquered territory that had been taken over by some rebels in the Yemen. He captured one of their leaders who was known as al-Ḥakīmī.[899]

On Jumādā II 16, 295 (March 23, 908), Khāqān al-Mufliḥī was ordered to march on Ādharbayjān in order to fight Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj. About four thousand troops were attached to him.

On Ramaḍān 17, 295 (June 20, 908), the emissary of Abū Muḍar Ziyādatallāh Ibn al-Aghlab[900] entered Baghdad, accom-

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895 ʿAbdallāh b. Manṣūr, who was also a government official (*kātib*), may have been his father. See text above, III, 1790, *sub anno* 256 (869-70).

896 Text: *wa-waṣalahū*; R: *wa-barrahū*.

897 Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Misma'ī d. 315 (927-8), as amīr of Fārs. See ʿArīb, 133; *Eclipse*, I, 157. ʿArīb, 69, described him as not quite as learned as his father.

898 The event referred to is the campaign of the Ḥamdānid Abū al-Hayjā' against Kurdish insurgents. See Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 342f. The government troops mentioned by Ṭabarī apparently played a very minor role in this campaign.

899 The "rebels" (Khārijites) seem to be the same Qarmaṭians mentioned earlier, but no precise identification of al-Ḥakīmī appears to have been suggested so far.

900 Ziyādatallāh III, the last of the Aghlabid rulers of Ifrīqiyah, was unable to cope with the Kutāmah Berber revolt fanned by the Fāṭimids and had to flee his country

panied by Fatḥ al-Aʿjamī.[901] He carried gifts to deliver to al-Muktafī.

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 295 (August 2-31, 908), the ransom negotiations between the Muslims and the Byzantines were completed.[902] Three thousand men and women were ransomed.

On Dhū al-Qaʿdah 12, 295 (August 13, 908),[903] al-Muktafī bi-llāh died. *After he died, the oath of allegiance was given to Jaʿfar b. al-Muʿtaḍid.* Al-Muktafī's caliphate lasted six years, six months, and nineteen days. On the day he died, he was thirty-two years old, *less one month.[904] According to another report, he was thirty-three years old.* He was born in 264 (September 13, 877-September 2, 878). His patronymic was Abū Muḥammad. His mother was a Turkish slave girl called Jījak.[905] He was of medium size, handsome, of a delicate complexion, with ⌜a full head of⌝ beautiful hair and a luxurious beard.

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in the following year. For the final collapse of the Aghlabid dynasty and Ziyādatallāh's death somewhere in Palestine between 911 and 917, see Talbi, *Émirat*, 668ff.

The embassy sent to al-Muktafī was a futile attempt to obtain support from the government in Baghdad. An incomplete list of the gifts sent on this occasion is found in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 245f., ed. Pellat, V, 191. Ziyādatallāh had sent lavish gifts earlier to al-Muktafī in 291. They are listed by Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 47. Ibn al-Zubayr's list was derived from two sources, the *Continuation of Ṭabarī* by Abū Muḥammad al-Farghānī and the *History of Wazīrs* by ʿAlī b. al-Fatḥ al-Muṭawwaq (Muṭawwiq) (Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 376). For other sources on this embassy and the possible confusion between the gifts sent in 291 and those sent in 295, see Talbi, *Émirat*, 645f.

901 No further identification seems possible for this individual.

902 See text above, III, 2277. For this *fidā' al-tamām*, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 21 and 406 (from Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 192f.).

903 ʿArīb indicates the date of al-Muktafī's death as Saturday night, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 13 (the night of Friday, August 13, to Saturday, August 14). Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 214, ed. Pellat, V, 176f., expresses astonishment about the discrepancies found regarding the date; he himself indicates Sunday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 13.

904 If the dates of his birth and death are given here correctly, he was, in fact, not yet thirty-two when he died. Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XI, 318, says that he was thirty-one years old.

905 His mother died before he became caliph. Her name may be Turkish *çiçek* "flower" (see also *EI²*, V, 619a, s. v. laḳab), but its form is not certain; *khnjw*, found in later authors depending on Ṭabarī, is an easy corruption of the clearly shown *jyjk* in R. See, however, the curious and no doubt erroneous statement in Eutychius, *Annales*, text, 74, that al-Muktafī's mother *Bkhtjknh* was a daughter of al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān.

# ⸢The Caliphate of al-Muqtadir bi-llāh⸣

He is[906] Jaʿfar b. *Abī al-ʿAbbās* al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh *b. Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh*. When the oath of allegiance was given to him, he received the name of al-Muqtadir bi-llāh. He was then thirteen years, one // month, and twenty ⸢-one⸣ days old. He was [2281] born on Friday night, Ramaḍān 22, 282 (Friday, November 14, 895). His patronymic is Abū al-Faḍl. His mother is a slave girl called Shaghab.

⸢On the day the oath of allegiance was given to him, the treasury reportedly contained fifteen million dīnārs.⸣[907]

After the oath of allegiance had been given to al-Muqtadir, al-Muktafī's corpse was washed, and the funeral prayer was said for him. He was buried somewhere in the house of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

On the second day of Minā [Dhū al-Ḥijjah 12, 295 (September 12, 908)], a battle took place between ʿAjj b. Ḥājj and the troops,[908] in which a number of the troops were killed ⸢or wounded⸣. The reason for this was their demand for the expected bonus on the occasion of the oath of allegiance given to al-Muqtadir. The people who were at Minā fled to Bustān Ibn ʿĀmir.[909] At Minā, the

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906 Text: *thumma būyiʿa* (mentioned before in RB); R: *wa-huwa*.

907 The statement is found only in C and ʿArīb, 22, who quotes Ṭabarī. Since the point here is to criticize the financial difficulties into which al-Muqtadir soon managed to embroil himself, it is indeed hard to assume that it was in the text during the early years of al-Muqtadir's reign. Not surprisingly, later historians give different figures such as, for instance, eight million dīnārs and twenty-five million dirhams, a much smaller sum. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 225, ed. Pellat, V, 181. Cf. also Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 220f.

908 The troops here are probably not the ordinary military contingent under the command of the governor of Mecca but rather the numerous men who accompanied the pilgrim caravans. See text above, III, 2110, for the disturbance in Mecca *sub anno* 271.

909 R: "Banī ʿĀmir."

troops looted the tent of Abū ʿAdnān Rabīʿah b. Muḥammad,[910] one of the military commanders of the pilgrim caravans.

On the way back, those *pilgrims* who returned ⌜from Mecca⌝ suffered ⌜greatly⌝ from thirst caused by the shortage of water. A number of them reportedly ⌜died from thirst. I have heard someone tell that a man would urinate into his cupped hand and drink the urine⌝.[911]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌜al-Hāshimī⌝.

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[910] See above, n. 679.
[911] The last sentence is found only in B.

# The Events of the Year 296

## (SEPTEMBER 30, 908 - SEPTEMBER 19, 909)

One of the events was the agreement reached by a number of officers, civilian officials, and qāḍīs to depose al-Muqtadir. They debated who should replace him, and they agreed upon ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtazz.[912] They discussed the matter with him, and he gave them his consent on condition // that there would [2282] be no bloodshed or fighting. They told him that the power would by handed over to him peacefully and all the troops, officers, and civilian officials who were standing behind them were agreeable to the choice. He therefore solemnly accepted. Leaders in this affair were Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ and the qāḍī Abū al-Muthannā Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb.[913] Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ agreed ⌜with a number of officers⌝ to murder al-Muqtadir ⌜and give the oath of allegiance to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtazz⌝.

Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan *had earlier agreed with a number of officers to murder al-Muqtadir and give the oath of allegiance to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtazz.*[914] But when he saw that he would get along with al-Muqtadir *as he liked*, he changed his mind concerning the plan. The others immediately pounced upon al-ʿAbbās and killed him. Badr al-Aʿjamī,[915] al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān,[916] and Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn were in charge of the killing. This was on Saturday, Rabīʿ I 19, 296 (Friday, December 16, 908).

912 The great poet and littérateur and caliph for one day. See *EI²*, s. v. Ibn al-Muʿtazz. The terseness of Ṭabarī's report on this most dramatic event is surprising. We are not even told that Ibn al-Muʿtazz lost his life in the process; this, of course, was generally known. The brevity may not be due to an editorial decision aimed at avoiding offending the victorious party, as much as embarrassment at the naiveté of a great man of letters mixing in politics. See also below, n. 920.

913 Abū al-Muthannā appears to be mentioned only in connection with this event. See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 101, 256.

914 Text: "shared their view."

915 No further information is available about him.

916 For al-Ḥusayn's role in this affair, see Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 324ff.

The following morning, on Sunday, al-Muqtadir was deposed by the officers, civilian officials, and qāḍīs of Baghdad. They gave the oath of allegiance to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtazz and named him al-Rāḍī bi-llāh.[917] Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Azraq,[918] the secretary of the army, administered the oath of allegiance to the officers. He put them under oath and had their names called out.[919]

On the same day, a fierce battle lasting from morning to midday was fought between al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān and the palace pages.

On the same day, the troops brought together by ⌜Muḥammad⌝ b. Dāwūd in order to give the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Muʿtazz scattered and left him. The reason for this was that the eunuch called Mu'nis transported some of the palace pages up the Tigris
[2283] in barges. When they were opposite the house in which Ibn // al-Muʿtazz and Muḥammad b. Dāwūd were, they shouted at them, showered them with arrows, and then dispersed. The troops, officers, and civilian officials who were in the house fled, as did Ibn al-Muʿtazz. Some of those who had given the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Muʿtazz joined al-Muqtadir, offering the excuse that it had not been possible for them to come to him (earlier). Others went into hiding and were subsequently seized and killed. The populace looted the house of Ibn Dāwūd and al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan. Ibn al-Muʿtazz was among those seized.[920]

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917 Other throne names allegedly bestowed upon Ibn al-Muʿtazz are mentioned in other sources.

918 See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 165, where it is stated that al-Azraq died in the prison of Mu'nis.

919 Each officer was called by name when he was put under oath, apparently in order to publicize the extent of Ibn al-Muʿtazz's following.

920 ʿArīb, 28, quotes Ṭabarī as follows: "Nothing has ever been seen more remarkable than the affair of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and al-Muqtadir, for both the inner circle of notables and the common people (that is, everybody) had agreed to prefer Ibn al-Muʿtazz and accept him and to depose al-Muqtadir because of his youth (still, the latter won out). 'God's command is definitely determined (Qur. 33.38)!" De Goeje, the editor of ʿArīb (preface, VIII), took this as an indication that the available text of Ṭabarī was defective. It is, however, somewhat unusual for Ṭabarī to reflect on contemporary events in this manner. Possibly, ʿArīb's reference to Ṭabarī here is an oversight, or it goes back to another source, and not the *History*. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 165, 11. 5-9, credits Ṭabarī with the remark, made at the time, that the revolt of Ibn al-Muʿtazz was doomed to failure. He did, however, not suggest that this remark occurred in the *History*.

On Saturday, Rabīʿ I 26, 296 (Friday, December 23, 908), snow fell in Baghdad from early morning to the time[921] of the afternoon prayer. There was an accumulation of about four fingers (about nine cm or almost four inches) in the houses[922] and on the roofs. Nothing like it had reportedly ever been seen in Baghdad.

On Monday, Rabīʿ I 28, 296 (Sunday, December 25, 908), the qāḍī *Abū ʿUmar* Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, Muḥammad b. ʿAmrawayh, Abū al-Muthannā, Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ, and al-Azraq, the secretary of the army, and a number of others were handed over to Mu'nis al-Khāzin. He let Abū al-Muthannā stay in the Caliph's palace and transferred the others to his own residence. Some ransomed themselves, while others were killed. Still others had someone intercede for them and were released.

In this year, a battle was fought betwen Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b.ʿAmr b. al-Layth and Subkarā,[923] the page of ʿAmr b. al-Layth. Subkarā took Ṭāhir captive and sent him as well as his brother Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad[924] to the central authorities in Baghdad. // [2284]

In this year, al-Qāsim b. Sīmā was sent in pursuit of Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn together with a number of officers and troops. In pursuing him, he went as far as Qirqīsiyā, al-Raḥbah, and al-Dāliyah. He wrote to al-Ḥusayn's brother, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, asking him to search for his brother. ʿAbdallāh and al-Ḥusayn met in battle at a place called al-Aʿmā[925] between Takrīt and al-Sawdaqāniyyah on the western bank of the Tigris. ʿAbdallāh was routed, and al-Ḥusayn contacted (the central authorities) seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct. This was granted to him. On Jumādā II 22, 296 (March 18, 909), al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān arrived in Baghdad and took up residence at Bāb Ḥarb.[926]

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[921] Text: *qadr*; R: *waqt*.
[922] Scil., in the courtyards and gardens of the larger houses.
[923] The manuscripts here always add the definite article to the name.
[924] Both Ṭāhir and Yaʿqūb were brought to Baghdad in the following year. They are mentioned as having received robes of honor in 310 (922-3). See ʿArīb, 8, 29; *Eclipse*, I, 16, 83. See also the pedigree in Zambaur, 201.
[925] No further information seems to be available for al-Aʿmā and al-Sawdaqānīyah (form uncertain).
[926] See Lassner, *Topography*, 278.

⌈The next morning⌉ he went to the Caliph's palace. A robe of honor was bestowed upon him, and he was appointed governor of Qumm and Qāshān.

On Jumādā II 23, 296 (March 19, 909), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Ibn Dulayl al-Naṣrānī,[927] the secretary and emissary of Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj. ⌈Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj himself was officially appointed governor⌉ of al-Marāghah and Ādharbayjān. Robes of honor were sent to him, and he was ordered to proceed to the region under his jurisdiction.

On Sha'bān 15, 296 (May 9, 909), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Mu'nis al-Khādim, and he was ordered to go to Ṭarsūs for the summer campaign. Mobilized for this purpose, he left with a considerable force and a number of officers, chamber pages, *and troops.*

Leading the pilgrimage in this year was al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Malik ⌈al-Hāshimī⌉.

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[927] There is no further information available for him. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 21f.

# The Events of the Year 297

## (SEPTEMBER 20, 909 - SEPTEMBER 8, 910)

One of the events was the summer campaign in Byzantine territory undertaken by Mu'nis al-Khādim and a considerable force from // the border town of Malaṭyah. Mu'nis was accom- [2285]
panied by Abū al-Agharr al-Sulamī. At the end of 296 (September 19, 909), he overpowered the Byzantines and took several non-Muslims captive. The report on this event reached the central authorities in Baghdad on al-Muḥarram 6, 297 (September 25, 909).[928]

In this year, al-Layth b. ʿAlī b. al-Layth ⌜al-Ṣaffār⌝ came with an army to Fārs and seized power there driving out Subkarā. This was after the central authorities had appointed Subkarā governor, subsequent to his sending Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad to them as a captive.[929] Al-Muqtadir ordered Mu'nis al-Khādim to go to Fārs in order to fight al-Layth b. ʿAlī. Mu'nis went there in Ramaḍān, 297 (May 14-June 12, 910).

⌜Also⌝ in this year, in Shawwāl (June 13-July 11, 910), al-Muqtadir sent al-Qāsim b. Sīmā with a large body of troops on the summer campaign in Byzantine territory.[930]

In this year, a battle took place between Mu'nis al-Khādim and al-Layth b. ʿAlī b. al-Layth. Al-Layth was routed and later taken prisoner. A large number of his men were killed. Many others

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928 See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 22.
929 See above, n. 924.
930 See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 22.

applied to Mu'nis for guarantees of safe-conduct. The government forces then entered al-Nūbandajān where al-Layth[931] had seized power.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik
[2286] ⌜b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad⌝. //

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931 R: "the central authorities."

# The Events of the Year 298

## (SEPTEMBER 9, 910 - AUGUST 28, 911)

One of the events was al-Qāsim b. Sīmā's summer campaign in Byzantine territory.

In this year, al-Muqtadir sent Waṣīf Kāmah al-Daylamī with an army and a number of officers *to Fārs* to fight Subkarā, the page of ʿAmr b. al-Layth.

⌈In this year, a battle took place between Subkarā⌉ and Waṣīf Kāmah, in which Waṣīf routed Subkarā driving him out of the region under his jurisdiction in Fārs. Waṣīf and his men then entered Fārs. A ⌈large⌉ number of Subkarā's men applied to Waṣīf for guarantees of safe-conduct; Subkarā's commander-in-chief who was known as al-Qattāl[932] was taken captive. Subkarā fled with his money and stores to Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl ⌈b. Aḥmad⌉. Aḥmad seized him and everything he had with him, and then arrested and incarcerated him.

In this year, a battle took place between Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. ⌈Aḥmad and al-Muḥammad b.⌉ ʿAlī b. al-Layth[933] in the region of Bust and al-Rukhkhaj. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl took Muḥammad captive.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

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932 Al-Qattāl is first mentioned *sub anno* 297 (909-10). See *Eclipse*, I, 17f. He was released from prison in 302 (914-5), and he is mentioned once more in the following year. See ʿArīb, 49, 57.

933 Another cousin of the father of Ṭāhir and Yaʿqūb, he was released from prison in 302 (914-5). See ʿArīb, 49.

# The Events of the Year 299

## (August 29, 911 - August 17, 912)

One of the events was the summer campaign undertaken from the region of Ṭarsūs by Rustum b. Bardū who was in charge of the border region ⌈for Bunayy b. Nafīs.[934] He was accompanied by
[2287] Damyānah.⌉ Rustum laid siege // to the fortress of Malīḥ al-Armanī.[935] He then left it and burned the suburbs of Dhū al-Kilāʿ.[936]

In this year, a messenger of Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl ⌈b. Aḥmad⌉ brought a letter from Aḥmad to the central authorities in Baghdad. In it, Aḥmad reported that he had conquered Sijistān and that his men had entered (the province) and driven out al-Ṣaffār's men. Al-Muʿaddal b. Alī b. al-Layth[937] had come to him with those of his men who were with him to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct. At the time, al-Muʿaddal was staying in Zaranj, and he went to Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl who was staying in Bust and al-Rukhkhaj. Ibn Ismāʿīl sent him and his family and those with him to Harāt. The distance between Sijistān and Bust and al-Rukhkhaj was sixty *farsakhs* (360 km). The mail pouch with the report on this event reached the central authorities in Baghdad on Monday, Ṣafar 10, 299 (Monday, October 7, 911).

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[934] Bunayy b. Nafīs first appears in the sources *sub anno* 296 (*Eclipse*, I, 12). He is mentioned as having been a son-in-law of the Stewardness Fāṭimah whose funeral he attended in 298 (Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 9; *Eclipse*, I, 20). He appears again in 311 and 316-7 (ʿArīb, 111, 143; *Eclipse*, I, 105, 183, 192; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 59) and, for the last time, in 320 (932) (ʿArīb, 172). See also Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, and Canard, *Sources arabes*, 153.

[935] Nothing is heard of Malīḥ al-Armanī after the defeat he suffered in 318 (930) (or the following year, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 153). See ʿArīb, 36, 146; Canard, *Sources arabes*, 22, 61, and Vasiliev, II, index.

[936] R: "Dhū al-Kulāʿ." See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 67; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 178.

[937] See Zambaur, 200f., who vocalizes al-Muʿaddil. The information found in the *Ta'rīkh-e Sīstān* is essentially the same as that in Ṭabarī (information provided by E. Yarshater).

⌜In this year, al-ʿUṭayr, one of Zikrawayh's men, arrived in Baghdad to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct. He was accompanied by al-Agharr,[938] another of Zikrawayh's officers.⌝

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 4, 299 (July 22, 912), ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt[939] fell out of favor. He was detained, and his ⌜houses⌝ and ⌜the houses of⌝ his people were sequestered. All of his and their possessions which were found were seized, and his houses and those of the sons of his brothers[940] and their families[941] were looted. Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh ⌜b. Yaḥyā⌝ b. Khāqān[942] was appointed wazīr.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik. // [2288]

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938 No further information seems to exist for him.

939 His dates are 242-312 (855-924). For his brother, see above, n. 415.

940 ʿAlī's prominent brothers were Aḥmad and Jaʿfar, but this does not mean that the dual *akhawayhi* should be read here. Only a few of the presumably numerous nephews are listed in Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 747.

941 R: "his family."

942 D. 312 (924-5). See *EI²*, s. v. Ibn Khāḳān (3).

# The Events of the Year 300

## (August 18, 912 - August 6, 913)

One of the events was the arrival in Baghdad of a messenger from the official in charge of Barqah with a report concerning a rebel who had come out against him.[943] Barqah belongs to the administrative region of Egypt, extending four *farsakh*s west[944] of it and beyond that to the administrative region of the Maghrib. He had overpowered the rebel's army and killed a number of his men. The messenger had with him strings with the ears and noses of those killed, as well as several of the rebel's banners.

In this year, the people of Baghdad suffered from many illnesses and diseases. Dogs and wolves had reportedly contracted rabies[945] and sought out humans, horses, and cattle. When they bit a man, it caused his death.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌈al-Hāshimī.⌉

[943] "Rebel (*khārijī*)"—a term used also with reference to the Qarmaṭians in the Yemen—refers here to the Northwest African Fāṭimids of ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdī, whose son led the expedition against Barqah. See also the events reported in the following years and, below, n. 971.

[944] Lit., "behind." According to this statement, the province of Barqah began twenty-four km beyond the borders of Egypt and extended vaguely west.

[945] RC: *kānat*, which is erroneous. The words used for animals probably included a wider range than is indicated in the translation.

# The Events of the Year 301

## (AUGUST 7, 913 - JULY 26, 914)

One of the events was al-Muqtadir's dismissal of Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh from the wazīrate. Al-Muqtadir incarcerated him as well as his sons ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbd-al-Wāḥid[946] and appointed ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ as his wazīr.

In this year, ⌜too,⌝ there was much pestilence in Baghdad, including a type that was called *ḥnyn*, // and another called [2289]
*mās(h)irā*.[947] The former was benign, but the latter was a lethal plague.

In this year, a man reportedly known as Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥallāj,[948] a prestidigitator, was brought into the house of the

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946 Muḥammad was dismissed on al-Muḥarram 10 (August 16) (Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 95, ll. 7f.). His son ʿAbdallāh was wazīr for a little over a year in 312-3 (924-5). He died in 314 (926-7). See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 433ff., and *EI²*, s. v. Ibn Khāḳān (4). Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 284f., 302, 306, has some more details about what happened to ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid when their father was appointed and when he was deposed. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was reportedly released on Thursday night, Jumādā II 9, 301 (January 10, 914), a Monday (!). ʿAbdallāh, was released on Friday, Shawwāl 1, 301 (Saturday, April 30, 914).

947 For *ḥnyn*, see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCV. It is hardly to be corrected to *khunān* "rheum," known in particular as a disease of camels.

For *māsirā* (or, as in R: *māshirā*), see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CDLXXIX, where reference is made to Syriac *māshrā* (see Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.²*, 408a) which translates Greek *erysipelas*.

948 This passage was translated and discussed by Massignon, *Passion²*, I, 504f. In view of the importance which al-Ḥallāj was to assume shortly afterwards, this earliest testimony has particular significance. Massignon seems to be right in his assumption that its author was indeed Ṭabarī and that it is not a later interpolation. See above, Foreword, xvii f.

Al-Ḥallāj was seen by Ṭabarī, and no doubt by most of the religious and political leadership in Baghdad at the time, as a fanatic and troublemaker. When he gained support among men highly placed in the government, his Rasputin-like influence was considered more and more dangerous. The sad fate he suffered was thus hardly due to religious intolerance; it resulted from the struggle of the government to

wazīr ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, accompanied by a companion.[949] I have heard a number of people express the opinion[950] that he claimed divine lordship.[951] He and his companion were hung for three days from the beginning of each day until midday. They were then taken down and remanded to prison.

⌜He[952] remained in prison for a long time. A number of people, among them Naṣr al-Qushūrī, were seduced by him. Eventually, people became unruly and cursed those who were finding fault with him, and his hands and feet were cut off. Following that, he was decapitated and cremated.⌝

In this year, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān ⌜b. Ḥamdūn⌝ undertook the summer campaign. A dispatch arrived at Baghdad from Ṭarsūs which indicated that he had conquered many fortresses and killed a large number of Byzantines.[953]

In this year, Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, ⌜the master of Khurāsān and Transoxania,⌝ was killed by the most intimate of his Turkish pages. This page and two other pages with him entered Aḥmad's tent and murdered him. Then they fled and were never caught.

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maintain its position in view of the numerous agitators working against it. For a contemporary, the affair of al-Ḥallāj was but one of many similar problems, and did not loom large in comparison with the Qarmaṭians, the Fāṭimids, even the pro-Umayyads. Once al-Ḥallāj was dead, opinion could, and did, change rapidly.

Massignon was inclined to believe that "Abū Masʿūd," as a patronymic of al-Ḥallāj not usually used for him, was the original reading of *mushaʿwidh*, "prestidigitator, conjurer." He was right, however, to hesitate with this view (see *Passion*², I, 504). "Abū Masʿūd" appears to be an attempt by later generations to soften the harsh but common epithet. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 57, for instance, appears to indicate this when he says, "as some have said, he was a *mushaʿwidh*, while others have said that he was dealing with supernatural verity (*ṣāḥib ḥaqīqah*)."

949 See Massignon, *Passion*², I, 513, for a discussion of the reports on al-Hallāj's first encounter with the law. The man with al-Ḥallāj was al-Karnabāʾī. See *Passion*², I, 513, and the mostly speculative references to that individual listed in *Passion*², index, IV, 214b.

950 R: *man yadhkuru* "mention."

951 See the interesting speculations on the implications of this supposed claim to divinity in Massignon, *Passion*², I, 342ff.

952 The passage referring to the year 309 (922) when al-Ḥallāj was executed is found only in C. See above, Foreword, xvii f.

953 See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 22f.

In this year, discord broke out between Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad[954] and the paternal uncle of his father, Isḥāq b. Aḥmad.[955] The pages, // civilian officials, and a number of officers [2290] of Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl were with Naṣr as were his father's money, horses, and weapons. After his father was killed, Naṣr fled to Bukhārā, while Isḥāq b. Aḥmad was in Samarqand sick with an attack of podagra. (The latter) called upon the people in Samarqand to give the oath of allegiance to him as their leader. Both Naṣr and Isḥāq sent letters to the central authorities in Baghdad claiming control over the region (previously) under the jurisdiction of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad.[956] Isḥāq reportedly dispatched his letters to ʿImrān al-Marzubānī[957] for delivery to the central authorities, while Naṣr b. Aḥmad ⌜b. Ismāʿīl⌝ similarly dispatched his letters to Ḥammād b. Aḥmad.[958] Both ʿImrān and Ḥammād did what (they were asked to do).

On Shaʿbān 15, 301 (March 16, 914), a battle took place between Naṣr b. ⌜Aḥmad b.⌝ Ismāʿīl and his Bukhārīs and Isḥāq b. Aḥmad, the paternal uncle of his father, and his ⌜Samarqandīs⌝. ⌜Naṣr and his men routed Isḥāq and the Samarqandīs⌝ and the men of those regions that had attached themselves to them. They dispersed and fled leaving Isḥāq. This battle between them took place at the gate of Bukhārā. After the Bukhārīs routed Isḥāq b. Aḥmad and his men, they advanced on the Samarqandīs, and another battle took place between them, in which the Bukhārīs again overpowered the Samarqandīs, routing them and causing a bloodbath among them. The Bukhārīs now forced their way into Samarqand and took Isḥāq b. Aḥmad captive. They appointed a

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954 Naṣr d. 329 (940-1). See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah, 120;Eclipse*, II, 7.

955 Isḥāq's capture is reported by Hamadhānī, *Takmilah, sub anno* 302. See Zambaur, 202f.

956 R: "Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl," which is an error.

957 Possibly, the Marzubānī who is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr *sub anno* 287 as the representative of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad in the capital. It may be noted that the father of the famous littérateur al-Marzubanı who was born around this time was called ʿImrān (b. Mūsā), but it does not seem possible to connect him with the abovementioned individual. R: "Ibn al-Marzubān," but again, it is not possible to connect him with the individual mentioned by Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 267, ed. Pellat, V, 201.

958 I have not succeeded in finding additional information about him.

son of ʿAmr b. Naṣr b. Aḥmad[959] to take over his administrative
[2291] duties *in Samarqand.* / /

In this year, Ibn al-Baṣrī's[960] Maghribīs entered Barqah, and the official appointed by the central authorities was driven out.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Zunbūr al-Mādharāʾī[961] was appointed to take charge of the administration and land tax of Egypt.

In this year, Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī, the (Qarmaṭian) rebel in the region of al-Baḥrayn and Hajar, was killed, reportedly by one of his eunuchs.

In this year, there were many illnesses and diseases in Baghdad causing great mortality among the city's inhabitants. Most of this reportedly took place in al-Ḥarbiyyah[962] and among the people of the suburbs.

In this year, an officer[963] of Ibn al-Baṣrī arrived in Alexandria with Berbers and Maghribīs. In this year, too, a dispatch from

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959 If this son of ʿAmr (RB: "ʿUmar") was a grandson of the above-mentioned Naṣr b. Aḥmad, he must have been very young at best. If he was a grandson of the elder Naṣr b. Aḥmad, the brother of Ismāʿīl, his relationship to the younger Naṣr b. Aḥmad would have been that of a third cousin.

960 That is, the Fāṭimid ʿUbaydallāh. According to Fāṭimid sources, the official, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, fled. The Fāṭimid troops entered Barqah on Rajab 7, 301 (February 6, 914). A relief attempt later in the year, under Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, was frustrated.

961 D. 345 (957). See Gottschalk, *Die Mādarāʾijjūn*, 79-116. RB: "Akhī Zunbūr."

962 Northwest of the Round City, See Lassner, *Topography*, 68, 254, n. 26.

963 That is, Ḥabāsah. According to Fāṭimid sources, Ḥabāsah and his men did not enter Alexandria before 302. See below, no. 972.

Takīn,[964] the governor of the central authorities, arrived in Baghdad from Egypt, asking for reinforcements.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

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[964] Takīn al-Khāṣṣah Abū Manṣūr Takīn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥarbī al-Khazarī, a *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, grew up during al-Muʿtaḍid's reign and became an officer (see also above, n.130?). He was first appointed governor of Egypt as the successor of ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī near the end of 297 (August, 910) (ʿArīb, 34; Ibn al-Athīr). His request for reinforcements was an unpleasant surprise for al-Muqtadir and his advisers, since they had not taken the Fāṭimid threat seriously earlier (ʿArīb, 51). Takīn's first term as governor of Egypt came to an end on Thursday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 14, 303 (Thursday, May 31, 915). He was reappointed in the fall of 307 (919). He remained in office until Sunday, Rabīʿ I 13, 309 (Sunday, July 22, 921), and was reinstated for a few turbulent days later that month. His longest tenure was the last one which began at the turn of the years 311 and 312 (March-April 924), and ended with his death on Saturday, Rabīʿ I 16, 321 (Saturday, March 16, 933). See, for instance, Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 75; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 281; *Eclipse*, I, 258; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* X, 386; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 171-73, 195-97, 200, 210-37; Bacharach, "The career of ...al-Ikhshīd," 589ff.

# The Events of the Year 302

## (July 27, 914 - July 16, 915)

One of the events was the dispatch of Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī[965] with two thousand horsemen to Ṭarsūs for the summer campaign. The wazīr ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā sent him there to support Bishr,[966] the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, who was governor of Ṭarsūs on behalf of the central authorities. They were unable to go on the summer campaign but undertook a winter campaign in severe cold and
[2292] snow.[967] / /

In this year, the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh[968] seized power in Ṭabaristān and then moved from Āmul to S(h)ālūs.[969] While he was staying there, Ṣuʿlūk,[970] the master of al-Rayy, sent an army against him. It was, however, unable to hold its own [in S(h)ālūs], and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī returned. ⌜People had never seen

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[965] Abū ʿUmayr ʿAdī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī, the master of Adana, was removed by al-Muʿtaḍid in 288 (901) (Masʿudı, *Muruj*, VIII, 198, ed. Pellat, V, 168) but soon again became the leading personality in the border region. He continued to play this role beyond 334-5 (945-6), when Masʿūdī was finishing his *Murūj* (II, 318, ed. Pellat, II, 44). See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 37f., 42, 69, 78, 407. See also above, n. 178.

[966] See above, n. 788.

[967] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 23, for this passage and the later one reporting the results of the campaign.

[968] The Zaydī ruler al-Uṭrūsh died in 304 (917). According to Zambaur, table D, n. 4, his Ḥusaynid pedigree was Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar (the brother of the imām Zayd) b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, I, 363.

[969] The main entry in Yāqūt is Shālūs, while the geographical coordinates are given under Sālūs (*Muʿjam*, III, 237 and 13). Yāqūt indicates the distance between Āmul (Ṭabarī's native city) and Shālūs as twenty *farsakhs* (120 km).

[970] Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 102 (=*Eclipse*, I, 36), has Akhū Ṣuʿlūk; ʿArīb, 51, ll. 1f., speaks of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī known as Ṣuʿlūk. Here apparently Akhū Ṣuʿlūk Aḥmad b. ʿAlī is meant; he is often referred to as Akhū Ṣuʿlūk. He was killed by Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj in 311 (924). See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 43, referring to Aḥmad b. Ṣuʿlūk; *Eclipse*, I 117; Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 55f. His brother seems to have been Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ṣuʿlūk (or b. Ṣuʿlūk). See *Eclipse*, I, 39 (where Muḥammad is described as a cousin of the ruler of Khurāsān) and 45.

anything like al-Uṭrūsh's justice, his exemplary way of life, and the way he established truth.⌉[971]

In this year, Ibn al-Baṣrī's man Ḥabāsah[972] entered Alexandria and seized power. He reportedly arrived there by sea in two hundred ships.

In this year, Ḥabāsah, ⌈Ibn al-Baṣrī's man,⌉ arrived at a place called Saft,[973] a day's journey from al-Fusṭāṭ. He later fell back and withdrew,[974] encamping between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria.

In this year, Mu'nis al-Khādim went to Egypt to fight Ḥabāsah. He was well equipped with men, weapons, and money.

On Jumādā I 23, 302 (December 14, 914), al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh, who was known as Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ, was arrested with his two sons,[975] and all their property was confiscated. He was put in fetters and incarcerated.

On Jumādā I 24, 302 (December 15, 914), a battle took place ⌈in Egypt⌉ between the government forces and Ḥabāsah and his men.

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971 "Established truth" seems here to reflect a Shīʿite notion. The sentence, found in C and Ibn al-Athīr, may have been intentionally omitted by the scribe of the prototype of RB. If Ṭabarī in fact used it, it was probably an expression of local pride. He would hardly have endorsed a Shīʿite pretender in such glowing terms for any other reason.

972 His name is Ḥabāsah b. Yūsuf (*al-ʿUyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 257; Stern, *Studies*, 111). The Fāṭimid troops entered Alexandria on Ṣafar 2, 302 (August 27, 914), see Stern, *Studies*, 112. Some vacillation is shown in the sources with respect to the vocalization of the name (see, for instance, Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, 208 and n. 4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 172, n. 4). Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 67, and Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 42, state that he was killed by ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdī soon after his return from Egypt, while Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 184, says that he was killed during the infighting mentioned below. Cf. also Dhahabī, *Duwal*, I, 134. All this seems mere speculation, even if it is very likely. The Fāṭimid sources published by Stern, *Studies*, 112, ll. 9f., and 114, ll. 11 ff., do not fully solve the problem of Ḥabāsah's fate, but they provide another clue by referring to his friction with al-Qā'im, al-Mahdī's son. ʿArīb, 68, refers *sub anno* 305 to what appears to have been the events of 301 and 302, presumably confusing two different Fāṭimid attacks on Egypt. Cf., further, Eutychius, *Annales*, text, 79f.

973 Or: "a way station called Saft." Cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 97.

974 The text does not make it clear whether Ḥabāsah turned south after leaving Saft, or north toward Alexandria. The latter appears to be more likely.

975 R: "four of his children." A son called Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Abī ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn appears in Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 29 (=ed. Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, 18); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 211. See also Rosenthal, *Humor*, 13, n. 2. Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 15, has more details about the incident, but he does not mention the names of the sons.

A number of men on both sides were killed or wounded. One day later, another battle took place with about the same results. Then ⌜in Jumādā II, 302 (December 22, 914-January 19, 915),⌝ a third battle took place. On Jumādā II 15, 302 (January 5, 915), a dispatch
[2293] arrived at Baghdad with the news that a battle had taken place // between the government forces and the Maghribīs, in which the latter were routed.

In this year, a dispatch from Bishr, the official in charge of Ṭarsūs on behalf of the central authorities, reached ⌜the central authorities in⌝ Baghdad. In it, Bishr mentioned his campaign in Byzantine territory. He mentioned the fortresses he had conquered there, the booty he had made, and the captives he had taken. He had also taken one hundred and fifty Patrikioi captive, and the total number of those captured was about two thousand.

⌜On Rajab 19, 302 (February 7, 915),⌝ a report arrived at Baghdad from Egypt with news that the government forces had met Ḥabāsah and the Maghribīs in battle and that the Maghribīs had suffered defeat. Seven thousand of them were either killed or taken captive; the rest fled in disarray. ⌜The battle had taken place on Thursday, Jumādā II 29, 302 (Thursday, January 19, 915).⌝

In this year, Ḥabāsah and the Maghribīs with him departed from Alexandria to return to the Maghrib. Before that, Ḥabāsah had reportedly discussed guarantees of safe-conduct with the representative of the central authorities in Egypt and letters ⌜had been exchanged between them⌝. Ḥabāsah's departure was reportedly caused by a disagreement that had arisen among his men at the place from which he had come.[976]

In this year, Yānis al-Khādim[977] attacked the Arab tribesmen in the region of Wādī al-Dhi'āb and its environs. He caused a bloodbath, reportedly killing seven thousand of them. He looted their tents and found an uncountable amount of money and

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976 This seems to mean that dissension broke out among Ḥabāsah's officers at his home base in Ifrīqiyah.

977 R: "Mu'nis," clearly a mistake. For Wādī al-Dhi'āb, see above, n. 41. Ibn al-Athīr adds that the bedouins belonged to the Banū Shaybān

goods belonging to merchants who had been waylaid and robbed by them.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 6, 302 (June 22, 915), Bid'ah, the *mawlāh* of *'Arīb, the *mawlāh* of* al-Ma'mūn, died.[978] // [2294]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Malik.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 22,[979] 902 (July 6, 915), the Arab tribesmen went out from al-Ḥājir,[980] three *farsakhs* (eighteen km) from the desert, against the pilgrims returning from Mecca.[981] They waylaid them and seized all their cash *and whatever goods they wanted.* They also drove away all their camels ⌜that they wanted⌝ and reportedly seized[982] two hundred and eighty free women, not counting the male and female slaves seized.

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[978] Cf. 'Arīb, 54; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 129; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, X, 99; Stigelbauer, *Sängerinnen*, 18-31, 49-53. Bid'ah was so successful in her profession as an entertainer that she left a large fortune. She retained great artistic ability to the end of her life. See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 215. 'Arīb, 54, speaks of her living unmarried for sixty years. This may mean that she died sixty years old, or rather, that she lived for sixty years after puberty. Her mentor, the famous songstress 'Arīb (often vocalized 'Urayb) is said to have lived from 181 (797-8) to 277 (890-1) (see the editor's footnote in Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 270f., ed. Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, 131ff.), so that there was plenty of time for Bid'ah, her client (*mawlāh*), to have worked with her, regardless of the date of her birth. For another reference to Bid'ah in Tanūkhī, see *Nishwār*, I, 89 (which has the correct text as against ed. Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*. 50). Bid'ah was in contact with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir on behalf of 'Arīb. See *Aghānī*, XIX, 125f., *Aghānī*³, XXII, 181-83.

It is worth noting that this trivial item in fact concludes a majestic work that deals with events that are among the greatest in world history.

[979] The date is given here according to the days of the month, but R indicates the number of nights remaining to the end of the month. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 128, introduces the episode with a reference to the 'Alid who attacked the pilgrims in conjunction with the Banū Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik al-Ṭā'ī. See also Madelung, "Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen," 48.

[980] See text above, II, 288.

[981] R: "Mecca Road.;

[982] R: *min al-nisā'*, supplying the words missing in the edition.

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The definite article, the abbreviation b. (for ibn, son) and bt. (for bint, daughter), and everything in parentheses are disregarded for the purposes of alphabetization. Where a name occurs in both the text and the footnotes on the same page, only the page number is given.

## L



## M